

Under One Management: The Jesuit Colleges in the Maryland-New York Province, 1879-1926

Michael J. Donnay

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Department of History, Georgetown University
Advisor: Professor John W. O'Malley, S.J.
Honors Program Chair: Professor Amy Leonard

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Chapter 1: Under One Management?

“Colleges of the Society of Jesus in New England, along the Atlantic seaboard of the Middle States and in Maryland are all under one management, and are all intended to be of the same grade.”

– J. Havens Richards, S.J.

President of Georgetown University, 1888-98¹

1. From New England to Maryland

When J. Havens Richards, S.J. made the above comment in the summer of 1893, Jesuit education in the United States had become a sprawling enterprise. From New England through the Mid-Atlantic and down to Maryland, the Jesuits operated nine individual colleges. Over 160 Jesuits taught at these schools, which educated over 3,000 students. Outside of this region, the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits’ official name, operated an additional fifteen schools with over 3,000 more students throughout the rest of the United States.² This positioned them as the predominant force in Catholic higher education, in terms of their geographic scope, the number of colleges they operated, and the number of students they educated. These colleges were grouped into six provinces or missions, the basic administrative units of the Society. The ones that Richards described fell under the oversight of the Maryland-New York Province, which stretched from Maryland to Maine and was home to the oldest Jesuit institutions in English-speaking America. This put the provincial of that province, William Pardow, S.J. (prov. 1893-97) in the unenviable position of running one of the largest educational *systems* in the country at the time.

Historians and educational theorists often use this word *system* to describe Jesuit educational efforts, especially when discussing the Society prior to its suppression in 1773. In many cases they are referring to the pedagogical system developed by the Jesuits, rooted in the

¹ J. Havens Richards to Charles Eliot, 20 Sept. 1893, J. Havens Richards, S.J. Papers (hereafter JHR), Box 5, Folder 7, Georgetown University Archives (hereafter GUA).

² Data from *The Woodstock Letters* 22 (1893); *The Maryland-New York Province Catalogue* 1893, GUA.

humanist tradition and expressed through a number of foundational documents, among them the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599).³ Others use the term to describe the overall structure of the Society, which is only incidentally related to its educational mission. The Society is fundamentally hierarchical: local superiors report to their provincial who in turn reports to the Curia in Rome, which is headed by the Superior General.⁴ In this way, the Society operates as a single system. Still others use *system* to describe the network of Jesuit schools in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, with a particular focus on this network's ability to diffuse knowledge across a wide area.⁵

However, the question of what it means for the Jesuit colleges to be a cohesive *organizational system* has largely gone unanswered. The Jesuits running the educational system in Maryland-New York Province in the late nineteenth century – Richards, Pardow, and their colleagues – would certainly have recognized that their colleges constituted a system as such. That system had a number of identifiable characteristics. It operated under the (sometimes loose) control of a single administrator, the provincial, who answered to superiors in Rome. The colleges within it regularly shared faculty members, shared a similar organizational structure, and all drew on the *Ratio Studiorum* to some degree as the basis for their curricula. At the same time, these colleges were also expected to be self-supporting institutions and often found themselves competing for the same pool of resources, especially faculty.

In this thesis, I will address those organizational concerns that would have been so familiar to Richards and Pardow. I aim to investigate Richard's claim that all of the colleges in

³ John W. O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education," in Vincent Duminuco, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham UP, 2000); Philip Gleason, "The First Century of Jesuit Higher Education in America," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 25 (2007): 37-52.

⁴ Peter McDonough, *Men Astutely Trained: A History of the Jesuits in the American Century* (New York: Free Press, 1992); Raymond Schroth, *The American Jesuits: A History* (New York: New York UP, 2007).

⁵ O'Malley, "Involved in Education," in Duminuco, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*.

the province operated under a “single management” and at the “same grade” between 1879 and 1926. I take “single management” to mean more than simply answering to a single administrator. Rather, I will examine the organizational characteristics of the provincial system to identify to what extent the province actually operated as a *cohesive* system. When examining the “grade” of the colleges, since absolute rankings of colleges are notoriously illusive, I will not attempt to provide a definitive scale against which each college in the province can be judged. Instead, I will examine to what extent each college provided a similar education to its students. Ultimately, I will argue that the colleges in the Maryland-New York Province did form a cohesive *system* of education with, at least by the early 1920s, a similar curriculum across all of its colleges. Furthermore, it will argue that the presence of the individual colleges within this larger system had a direct impact on the development of these colleges.

1.1 Historiography

In doing so, this thesis fills in a large gap in the historiography of Jesuit higher education in nineteenth and early-twentieth-century America. The literature for this topic does not fall cleanly into a single category or discipline; as such, certain areas of inquiry have been overlooked. There is the history of American higher education generally and then the history of Catholic higher education specifically, both of which tend towards generalization. Within that, there are works focused exclusively on Jesuit higher education, which fall along a spectrum from purely theoretical to strictly narrative history and all of which take the operation of a Jesuit *system* is given. Part of what I hope to accomplish with this thesis is reconciling some of the differences in approach between these various fields and genres.

There exists a fairly sharp divide between institutional histories, which make up the vast majority of the historiography on higher education proper, and the broader works that attempt to cover more than a single school. Institutional histories by their very nature tend to be insular and narrowly focused on the institution in question. In contrast, due to the expansive and diverse nature of American higher education itself, general histories of the topic tend to generalizations that are often too broad to be of much analytical use.

In looking at American higher education as a whole, the closest thing there is to a definitive survey is John Thelin's *A History of American Higher Education* (2011). Thelin provides an overview of the major trends in higher education, with his work structured around a series of overlapping developmental stages. Thelin argues that American higher education does not share a unified heritage, but rather is the product of competing and sometimes contradictory strands. Thelin, when he briefly discusses Catholic higher education, treats it as one of these threads within the larger fabric. When looking at general surveys of Catholic higher education in the United States, it is difficult to find much recent scholarship. Phillip Gleason provides one useful analytical framework, however, in a chapter in *The Shape of Catholic Higher Education* (1967). Gleason identifies three areas where Catholic colleges and universities depart from prevailing norms in higher education: socially, institutionally, and ideologically. Gleason argues that the history of Catholic higher education in the U.S. can be traced through the tension between Catholic norms and wider American ones in these three areas. This paradigm is especially useful when examining debates around accommodation within the Society.

When it comes to Jesuit colleges and universities specifically, the recent interest in Jesuit scholarship and history has provided a wealth of resources on Jesuit higher education. These works tend to fall into two categories: theory of education and education history. The nature of

education means this distinction is never clear-cut and many works touch on both topics. On the theory side, the majority of the scholarship focuses on the *Ratio Studiorum*, the document which guided Jesuit educational practice from 1599 through the beginning of the twentieth century.

While not exclusively historical works, these books provide the theoretical framework to understand the *Ratio*, without which you cannot understand Jesuit education during the nineteenth century.

From a more strictly historical perspective, the most directly applicable works are “Jesuit Higher Education in the United States” (1991) by Gerald McKevitt and “The First Century of Jesuit Education in America” (2007) by Phillip Gleason. While both articles are limited in scope by their size, they provide excellent overviews of the Jesuit educational enterprise. Gleason delineates the patterns of institutional development in terms of *nuclei*, emphasizing the importance of a home institution to the evolution of secondary institutions. He is also clear to distinguish between external factors and those internal to the Society of Jesus and to make clear the importance of the province as the primary administrative unit. Kathleen Mahoney’s *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America* (2003) takes a narrow look at the controversy between the Harvard Law School and the Jesuits in the final decade of the nineteenth century. However, she quickly broadens out to examine the response of the Jesuits to the “new age of the university” as a whole. Of particular interest is her chapter on the discussions of education policy within the Society itself.

On the other side of the genre divide from these works lie the institutional histories. Often produced by a member of the faculty at the institution in question, they are invariably written to commemorate some major anniversary. In earlier works, these factors often produced histories with more than a touch of institutional propaganda to them. Luckily, most of the major Jesuit

colleges and universities on the East Coast have produced a good, comprehensive history in the last decade or two.

For Georgetown, the standard institutional history is Emmett Curran's three-volume *A History of Georgetown University* (2010). The first volume covers the university's first century, while the second one covers from 1889 through the mid-1960s. Arranged both thematically and chronologically, Curran's history is incredibly detailed. Curran also does a better job than most at reaching out to the wider issues surrounding the university when the moment allows. Fordham has two recent histories, one narrative and one documentary, with *Fordham: A History and Memoir* (2002) by Raymond Schroth, being the most recent history of the university. Holy Cross's history is well served by Anthony Kuzniewski's *Thy Honored Name: A History of the College of the Holy Cross, 1843-1994* (1999).

The main issue with all of these histories is their narrowness of focus; they present a narrative focused on a particular institution to the exclusion of most else and so tend to ignore systematic concerns. By looking at an entire province, I will expand beyond the narrow focus of a single school while still addressing a manageable number of institutions. This will allow me to bridge the gap between the parochial nature of institutional histories and the generalizations of the surveys. In doing so, I hope to begin developing a framework for examining the operation of Jesuit educational systems in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

1.2 Structure

In order to begin laying out a framework for modern Jesuit education, it is crucial to understand the development of the Society in the early modern period. As such, the second chapter of the thesis briefly examines the history of Jesuit education from the Society's

foundation through the late-eighteenth century. It then shifts focus and lays out the development of Jesuit education on the East Coast of the United States through the 1880s. The third chapter focuses in on the issues of curricular unity facing the Maryland-New York Province in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The move towards a single curriculum represented the major collaborative endeavor undertaken by the province during this period. It was ultimately successful, although only after numerous failures, and directly contributed to building a unified provincial identity.

The fourth and fifth chapters address the question of how cohesive the provincial system was by looking at the interconnectedness of the schools within the system. I identify two distinct, but mutually reinforcing, aspects of this interconnectedness, which I call conceptual and functional interdependence. Functional interdependence encompasses the actual operation of the provincial system. Conceptual interdependence refers to the cultural ideas about interdependence that the Jesuits held, including the sense of provincial identity produced by the drive towards curricular unity. Both types of interdependence contributed to and reinforced the other within the province.

Before we begin, a few things must be noted. First is the absence of Woodstock College from the majority of this thesis. Founded in 1869, Woodstock served as the primary training center for Jesuits through the mid-twentieth century. It was a major player in the education of generations of Jesuits and as such exerted enormous influence on the province's educational culture. The reason for its absence rests primarily with its student body: Woodstock was exclusively for Jesuits. While Jesuits occasionally studied at their other colleges, those schools were operated with lay students in mind. As such, they had a different educational mission and

responded differently to the broader higher education landscape. For these reasons, I mention Woodstock only in passing.

Given that Woodstock educated Jesuit students, while schools like Holy Cross educated lay students, it might seem odd that both would be called colleges. In fact, every educational institution operated by the Jesuits was at one point called a college. The differentiation between college, high school, and university is itself a product of the late-nineteenth century. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use college or school interchangeably to describe those institutions that the Jesuits of the time called colleges. When the need to distinguish between secondary and post-secondary becomes necessary, preparatory or high school will refer to secondary education and collegiate or collegiate division will refer to undergraduate education. The Jesuits themselves were rarely clear in their own writing, so I will do my best to translate their terms when necessary.

Finally, a note on chronology. I focus on the Maryland-New York Province from 1879 to 1926 for a number of reasons. The first is scope. In 1879, the Maryland Province, which encompassed most of the East Coast from Maryland to New England except New York, joined with the American sections of the Canada-New York Mission. The joint province that resulted constituted the single largest administrative unit of the Society in the United States in terms of the number of institutions and students, making it an ideal test case for examining systematic concerns.⁶ That province maintained its size until 1926 when New England became an independent province. This period also marked the end of an educational model rooted in a European tradition and the beginning of a transition to a modern, American model for higher

⁶ The next largest province, Missouri, had fewer institutions and taught fewer students throughout the entire period in question.

education. This transition was largely the result of huge shifts in the landscape of American higher education, which brought a number of curricular and organizational issues to the fore.

These changes were already well underway by 1879, although most of the Jesuits then were unaware of the implications. Those changes would redefine the meaning of higher education in America and bring about the rise of the research university. Secondary education would become increasingly delineated from collegiate education and the four-year high school would establish itself as the dominant model by the early 1900s. These, as well as a number of related developments, would put huge pressure on the Jesuit system to adapt quickly or risk being made obsolete.

2. Changes in American Education, 1879-1920

2.1 The University Movement

The modern American university emerged out of the frenetic growth of the late nineteenth century. Its growth mirrored and encouraged the proliferation, professionalization, and specialization of knowledge during that same period. Its development marked a dramatic shift from the path of American higher education for the previous century. Prior to the Civil War, the denominational college dominated American higher education. Usually sponsored by a particular religious denomination and built on a curriculum that emphasized the Greek and Roman classics, these colleges viewed their primary role as transmitting knowledge and values. They had remained largely unchanged since the seventeenth century, allowing for the introduction of a small amount of natural sciences. Up until the 1880s, these colleges enrolled the majority of American post-secondary students.⁷

⁷ Kathleen Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2003), 2.

Yet, by the close of the century, universities, not colleges, would enroll more students and have become the dominant model for post-secondary education in the United States. A number of forces combined in the later half of the century to allow this transition to happen. First among them was the growth of the sciences. As the demand for scientific advancement grew and scientific knowledge expanded with the Industrial Revolution, it was no longer possible for one person to claim competency in all of the natural sciences. This led to a splintering of the sciences, and eventually all knowledge, into disciplines with increasingly better-defined boundaries. Now one became a *biologist* or a *physicist* or even a *sociologist* instead of merely a scientist or, even less, a “natural philosopher.”

As knowledge became specialized, it also became a professional undertaking. The German universities had developed a system of professional training for academics, culminating in the PhD, which made its way to the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸ Johns Hopkins University, founded in Baltimore in 1876, represented the first manifestation of this trend. Focused on research, rather than undergraduate teaching, and generously funded by private philanthropy instead of a religious denomination, it challenged all the prior assumptions of American higher education. Graduate education became increasingly important at Hopkins in subsequent decades and so with it the PhD. Soon other schools, like Cornell and Harvard, sought to imitate the success they saw in Baltimore.

Charles Eliot (1834-1926), president of Harvard from 1869 to 1909, quickly became the leading figure of what would be known as the “university movement.” When he took over Harvard, it was largely still a college in the old style. He realized it needed to modernize or risk being left behind. Trained as a chemist, Eliot embraced the idea that higher education needed to

⁸ See Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976).

adopt the ‘ideal of progress’ that had produced so much innovation in the sciences and industry. To achieve this goal, Eliot saw to an overhaul of the curriculum at Harvard and pushed for greater coordination and standardization between secondary and post-secondary education in the United States.⁹

Following his appointment in 1869, Eliot quickly began altering the curriculum. Although Harvard had been experimenting with *election*, allowing individual students to select some of their classes, prior to his presidency, Eliot pushed the principle even further. Responding to the rapid proliferation of academic disciplines and growing demand for specialists in the commercial and industrial fields, he advocated total freedom in election for students. By the time he stepped down in 1909, there were no required courses at all for the Harvard B.A. degree. This move towards *electivism* allowed students to specialize in disciplines that interested them, but completely did away with the curricular unity provided by the older prescribed curriculum. Thus, electivism was anathema to supporters of the prescribed, classical course – Jesuits included.¹⁰ Harvard also raised admission standards in its professional schools, demanding that students complete a bachelor’s degree before studying medicine or law.¹¹ Prior to this decision, students could and often did directly matriculate to professional schools without any post-secondary education at all. This development at Harvard would prove especially problematic for Jesuit colleges in the 1890s.

A liberal Protestant, Eliot also believed that denominational colleges fostered unnecessary division between schools when education should be serving the country as a

⁹ Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America*, 23-24.

¹⁰ “Summary of Proceedings of the Commission to Improving and Unifying Studies,” Maryland Province Archives, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA.

¹¹ Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America*, 33.

whole.¹² This was a belief shared amongst members of the university movement, who tended to be Protestant as well. They sought to separate their schools from any denominational association. Large philanthropic groups, like the Carnegie Foundation, contributed to this impulse by denying funding to schools run by religious organizations.¹³ By the early decades of the twentieth century, most of the preeminent universities in the country were not religiously affiliated. That is not to say denominational schools disappeared, the Jesuits' certainly did not, but they were no longer the standard by which others were measured. That title now belonged to the universities.

2.2 Changes to Secondary Education

Alongside changes in higher education, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw major shifts in secondary education. The most evident one was the solidification of the four-year high school as the dominant organizational model. As these high schools proliferated, their graduates began arriving at colleges with a wide range of qualifications and competencies. For college administrators, the need for some semblance of curricular order became evident. Thus, standard curricula developed. The ultimate result of these developments was a hardened line between secondary and post-secondary education in the United States.¹⁴ This hardening presented serious challenges to Jesuit educators, who were firmly entrenched in a European model that straddled the new high school-college division.

This “realignment” of high school and collegiate education began in the 1880s and picked up steam in 1893, when a committee from the National Education Association (NEA) issued a landmark report on secondary education. This committee, called the “Committee of

¹² Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America*, 4.

¹³ William Leahy, *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.; Georgetown UP, 1991), 15-18.

¹⁴ Leahy, *Adapting to America*, 19-20.

Ten,” recommended that high schools adopt a limited amount of electivism. Instead of following the prescribed course of study that had been the norm at most schools prior to the mid-nineteenth century, students would now be free to elect some of their classes. The report also laid out four different types of high school curricula, of which only one was a classical course along the lines of the Jesuit curriculum at this time.¹⁵ This move served to further marginalize the Jesuits from mainstream educational currents. As they resisted the rise of non-classical courses at the secondary and collegiate level, they began to look increasingly antiquated.

Further, the committee fundamentally altered the organization of the high school curriculum, breaking education down into discrete *units* of time. Each *unit* represented the equivalent of one year of instruction in a particular subject. Time spent in class, rather than mastery, was the standard to which students would now be held.¹⁶ A similar move towards quantifiable measures of education was occurring in collegiate education, with the credit hour being the equivalent of the unit there. This rigid, time-based structure did not fit within the Jesuit educational system for a number of reasons, primarily that Jesuits prized mastery as the basis for advancement. The ultimate result of these changes was to make the Jesuits appear even more isolated from mainstream educational trends.

The recommendations of the committee were enthusiastically endorsed by regional accreditation agencies, which were coming into being around this time. The first was formed in New England (1885), followed by the Middle States Association (1892) and the North Central Association (1895).¹⁷ These organizations concerned themselves with issues of articulation between secondary and collegiate education. Although voluntary in nature, over the course of the

¹⁵ Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995), 32.

¹⁶ Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 33.

¹⁷ Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 35.

first two decades of the twentieth century they began to exert increasing influence over the schools in their respective regions. In 1900, the Middle States Associate organized a standardized college entrance exam, administered by the College Entrance Examination Board, that would eventually grow into the SAT. In 1904, the North Central Association began to accredit colleges and high schools and published its first list of approved schools in 1913.¹⁸ The standards used to determine accreditation were those laid down by the Committee of Ten. Jesuits originally resisted the efforts of these bodies, not willing to submit to the changes demanded in order to secure accreditation – changes that placed less emphasis on classical languages. Not until the late 1910s and early 1920s would they begin to seek accreditation, as they slowly recognized that the advantages outweighed the loss of autonomy it entailed.

External forces drove most of these changes, but changes within Catholic education also affected the Jesuit colleges during this period. The American Church had spent much of the 1870s and 1880s establishing a massive parochial school system, especially in the eastern cities. As these schools began turning out more graduates, usually after the eighth grade, the demand for Catholic secondary education increased. To meet these demands, which could not be accommodated by existing private schools run by Catholic religious orders, individual dioceses began sponsoring their own high schools. By 1917, most major cities had at least one Catholic high school and over 400 smaller, parish high schools existed across the country.¹⁹ These schools were organized along the four-year model of secular high schools. Jesuit colleges were not well situated to accept the graduates of these schools, however, because their seven-year model did not align well with the four-year high school. Not wanting these students to go to Protestant or

¹⁸ Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 37.

¹⁹ Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 46-50.

secular colleges, the Jesuits had a major incentive to rethink aspects of their model. Otherwise, they would lose out on a vast pool of Catholic students.

3. “Where One of Them Appears, None Should be Omitted”

It is important to consider this context when evaluating the Jesuit colleges at the end of the nineteenth century, since, just as no single Jesuit college existed in a vacuum, neither did the provincial system. Much of the work done by the Maryland-New York Jesuits during this period, especially around issues of curricular change, was directly or indirectly influenced by these changes to the higher education landscape. As such, it is crucial to bear it in mind and I shall return to it as needed throughout the following chapters. The next chapter provides a brief historical sketch of the Jesuit educational enterprise, with a particular focus on the development of the colleges on the East Coast of the United States. Many of the systemic challenges facing the Jesuits during this period can be traced back to the beginnings of the Society in the sixteenth century and to the initial development of their colleges in the early nineteenth.

Chapter 2: The Province and Its Context

“The aim, therefore, of the system...is to give a truly liberal education, through the harmonious development of all the faculties, the careful training of heart as well as mind, the formation of character rather than the mere imparting of knowledge.”

- Joseph Hanselman, S.J.

President of Holy Cross College, 1901-06²⁰

1. A Three Hundred Year Tradition

In the best spirit of Jesuit education, before we discuss the important questions, we must answer the most simple. The educational system of the Maryland-New York Province was not willed into existence in 1879 in the same way the new province was. Where did it come from? Simply, it was the product of two distinct strands of development. The first was the three-hundred-year-old tradition of Jesuit education, stretching back to the early days of the Society. The second was the development of its constituent schools, both from the Maryland Province and the missions in New York, which developed in general conformity with the Society's tradition but with a distinctly American character. However, that is as far as the simple answer goes. What follows is an attempt to condense those two strands, and the hundreds of years of history they entail, into something manageable.

2. “The Way of Proceeding”

The Jesuits did not set out to be educators. Indeed, Ignatius and the early Jesuit companions decided they would not even instruct their own members, but rather send them to existing universities.²¹ The Society first committed itself to missionary work and other itinerant acts of mercy. Ignatius had originally intended to work in the Holy Land and, being unable to do

²⁰ Joseph Hanselman, “The Aim of the Jesuit College,” *The Republic*, 10 December 1904, Joseph Hanselman, S.J. Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, Archives of the College of the Holy Cross (hereafter ACHC).

²¹ John W. O'Malley, “How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education,” in Vincent Duminuco, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham UP, 2000), 63.

so, promised himself and his companions to the Pope as missionaries. The Jesuits, following their official formation in 1540, even took a special vow to be available to the papacy for missions anywhere in the world. In short, they were intent on being missionaries, not schoolmasters. It is therefore surprising, to say the least, that within a few short decades after its founding the Society was operating dozens of colleges across Europe and Latin America.²²

While the reasons behind this dramatic shift in focus are not immediately relevant to the story at hand, a brief history of the educational project of the Jesuits writ large will illuminate a number of important characteristics of Jesuit education, in addition to providing useful background. Crucially, it will provide an understanding of how and why the Jesuits conducted their schools – or, in the language of the Society – help to make clear their “way of proceeding.” For all of the changes between 1548, when the Jesuits opened their first school, to 1879, when our story begins, this way of proceeding remained remarkably consistent. Marked by the tension between the need to adapt to local conditions and maintain some level of consistency across schools, it played a central role in shaping Jesuit education.

2.1 The Briefest of Histories

The first institution that could be called a Jesuit college as it came to be understood opened in Messina, Sicily, in 1548 with five Jesuit priests and five scholastics (Jesuits in training). These ten men had been sent there in response to a request by the civic government to provide education for their sons. Although, as mentioned above, teaching did not fit into the Jesuit’s professed mission, Ignatius accepted their request. Why he decided to embark on this

²² O’Malley, “Involved in Education,” 56.

venture cannot be adequately explained, for as John O'Malley, the dean of Jesuit history notes, the sources do not provide an answer.²³

Part of the answer lies in a number of characteristics of the early Society that predisposed it to educational work. Firstly, the Jesuits as a whole were highly educated. Ignatius met his early companions while studying at the University of Paris and this experience embedded the desire for educated members in the foundations of the Society. Additionally, they viewed education as an act of mercy (teaching the ignorant), so it fit within their broader mission to “help souls.” This view aligned with a powerful trend among humanist educators at the time which held that studying classical Latin and Greek literature cultivated virtue in students, and thus the aim of the schools coincided with the Jesuits’ spiritual mission. Thirdly, the Jesuits needed some way to provide for the education of their own members. The original arrangement at Messina, with the city providing for both Jesuit teachers and Jesuit *students*, allowed the Society to train its members alongside lay students. This significantly reduced the costs of training and as such provided a compelling reason for the Jesuits to invest in the success of their schools.²⁴

That investment paid off more than any of those Jesuits at Messina could have imagined. By 1565, the Jesuits operated over thirty schools in Italy alone. Some of these schools had over a hundred students – there were 280 students at the school in Palermo. While most of these schools were colleges, schools not possessing the higher faculties of philosophy or theology, the Jesuits also operated a university in the form of the Collegio Romano.²⁵ Two decades later, they had opened a school in Macau and operated a number of institutions in Spanish and Portuguese America. The Jesuits would continue to open four to five schools a year for several decades. Although the pace of growth slowed by the end of the sixteenth century, by 1770 the Jesuits

²³ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993), 200.

²⁴ O'Malley, “Involved in Education,” 64-67.

²⁵ Universities possessed either one or both of these faculties. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 207

operated over 700 schools across four continents.²⁶ These schools constituted the largest educational system under the management of a single organization in the world.

One key to the success of this global system lay in the Jesuit's ability to adapt their schools to the conditions in which they found themselves. The second Superior General of Society, Francis Borgia, S.J., wrote in 1569 that it was necessary to adapt "to the places and particular circumstances" of the locality.²⁷ This willingness to adapt stands in sharp contrast to much of the European world at the time. It allowed Jesuit schools to flourish in places as different as Bavaria, Mexico, and Sicily. For example, many of the schools in Europe staged elaborate theatrical performances as a means of attracting positive attention to the work of the school and training the students in elocution. In the South American missions, where the indigenous culture prized instrumental music and the infrastructure to produce elaborate performances did not exist, the schools focused on orchestral ensembles instead.

That system came crashing down in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The success of the Society, as well as its active participation in a number of theological controversies, brought many accolades, but also many adversaries. These adversaries found willing allies in the ministers of many of Europe's monarchs, who were looking to cement control over their states at this time. They initiated a series of national expulsions in Portugal (1762), France (1764), and Spain (1767) where the Jesuits were stripped of their property and expelled or arrested, culminating in a bull of suppression from Pope Clement XIV that abolished the Society worldwide in 1773. Except where local rulers refused to enforce the pope's decree, most notably in Russia, the Jesuits found their colleges confiscated along with the rest of their property.²⁸ The

²⁶ O'Malley, "Involved in Education," 56

²⁷ John Padberg, "Development of the Ratio Studiorum," in Vincent Duminuco, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham UP, 2000), 84.

²⁸ Raymond Schroth, *The American Jesuits: A History* (New York: New York UP, 2007), 50.

“Suppression” lasted until the beginning of the nineteenth century when various countries allowed the Jesuits to return. The Society was officially restored in 1814. However, its educational system was crippled. Virtually all of the schools had been taken over by secular authorities or other religious groups. Others had fallen into disrepair and were unusable. Only a small number remained in the hands of ex-Jesuits and the reconstituted Society had to restart its work from these few.²⁹

2.2 Form and Function

As with any institution, numbers alone do not give a complete picture. In order to develop a full picture of the Jesuits’ educational system, one must examine four characteristics: administration, curriculum, method, and discipline.³⁰ Administration describes how the schools were staffed and operated, as well as their place within the larger structure of the Society. Curriculum refers to what was taught in the classroom and method to how it was taught. Discipline encompasses both the maintenance of order among the students and the religious atmosphere. Together, these four areas provide a comprehensive understanding of how the schools functioned. Unfortunately, much of the information below has been drawn from normative sources rather than descriptive ones, so it leans closer to painting an idealized picture than might otherwise be desirable. Where possible, I have noted where practice differed from the prescriptive documents. Nevertheless, even an idealized picture can be useful as it sheds light on how the Jesuits envisioned their educational enterprise.

²⁹ Allan Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1939), 378.

³⁰ These four characteristics come from the *Ratio Studiorum*, which divides its discussion of schooling along these lines. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, 391.

The administration of the schools functioned along much the same lines as the other missions the Jesuits undertook. The head of the Jesuit community which staffed the school, the rector, held ultimate responsibility for the entire operation of the school. Although he was appointed by the superior general in Rome, he was more directly answerable to the Provincial, the superior responsible for the province in which the school sat. According to the Society's governing documents, he was only allowed to serve a maximum of three years in office, which could be renewed for another three. While the rector maintained final authority over all matters, a number of other officers assisted him in his duties. The prefect of studies oversaw the academic operations of the school: supervising teachers, examining applicants, and ensuring that academic standards were met. He was often assisted by a prefect of discipline, who dealt (not unsurprisingly) with issues related to student conduct. The minister supervised the temporal affairs of the school and oversaw its day-to-day operation. Finally, the procurator responsible for finances oversaw the financial aspects of the schools operations.³¹ This division of responsibilities was identical, except for the prefects, to that of other Jesuit communities.

Below the administrators, six Jesuits constituted the minimum teaching staff of the college. Each faculty member was what would today be called a "classroom teacher," meaning he taught all of the subjects for a particular grade. Three professors shared responsibility for the first three classes, collectively known as the grammar classes. One professor taught the fourth course, humanities, and the other was responsible for the final year, rhetoric.³² This number would vary based on local conditions, but Jesuit superiors were hesitant to open a school that lacked this minimum complement. When the decision was made that a particular school was to become a university, additional faculty were required. It is important to note that very few Jesuit

³¹ Miguel Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts in the Jesuit Colleges in the Eastern Part of the United States: Theory and Practice (1782-1923)" (Doctor of Philosophy, Yale University, 1951), 22-26.

³² Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts," 23.

schools in this period included more than the lowest faculty. A philosophy faculty required at least three professors, one each to teach mathematics, logic, and general philosophy, while a theology faculty required an additional five Jesuits.³³ Ideally, all of these professors would be members of the Society who had completed their training. However, the staffing demands of the colleges meant that often scholastics, Jesuits in the middle stages of their training, took on teaching responsibilities.

Teaching, both in content and method, was by far the most distinctive element of a Jesuit education. It was grounded in the humanistic tradition, which had grown out of the Italian Renaissance in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and particularly its promotion of the *studio humanitatis* – literature focused on inspiring students to lead a moral life. The humanists firmly believed in the power of good literature, which invariably meant classical Greek and Latin literature, to produce morally upstanding students dedicated to the public weal. This approach contrasted starkly to that taken by the universities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Steeped in the scholastic tradition, these universities represented the professionalization of learning. The schools opened by the humanists first in Italy and latter in Northern Europe were in many ways a reaction against what the universities represented.³⁴

While the humanist tradition had its roots in Italy, the Jesuits' particular educational style developed out of Ignatius' experience at the University of Paris. The approach to teaching he encountered there, the *modus parisiensis*, profoundly shaped his views on pedagogy.³⁵ Since many of the innovations of the *modus parisiensis* still impact educational practice today, it may not appear particularly radical to a modern reader. However, it represented a substantial

³³ Very few schools had a philosophy faculty and fewer still one in theology. Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts," 25.

³⁴ John W. O'Malley, "From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to the Present: A Humanistic Tradition?," in Vincent Duminuco, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham UP, 2000), 127-9.

³⁵ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 216

departure from what was in place in other places, most notably Italy, where the Jesuit schools began. The Jesuits did make some minor modifications to the *modus parisiensis* as they experimented in the first decades of their educational work, but for the most part they took what they knew worked and exported it wholesale to their own schools. During this period of experimentation, from 1548 to around 1600, the Society produced an enormous volume of writing to document their methodological and curricular developments.³⁶

The most important of these documents, both for the Jesuits and their opponents, was the *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (The Plan and Arrangement of Studies for the Society of Jesus). Drafts of the *Ratio Studiorum*, or the *Ratio* as it was often called, began circulating in the mid-1580s. Following extensive consultation and revision, the Society published a definitive edition in 1599.³⁷ The *Ratio Studiorum* provided both curricular and pedagogical guidance for Jesuit educators. As a primarily logistical document, it did not address matters of educational philosophy, but it proposed a system clearly in the mold of both the humanists, in terms of purpose and curriculum, and the *modus parisiensis*, in terms of method. It provided a clear picture of the specific elements of the Jesuit approach that differentiated it from the other systems in Europe at the time.

Foremost among these was the principle of graded stages. The *Ratio Studiorum* presupposed that a student should not study one subject until he had mastered the material which came before it. Thus, the Jesuit colleges began with three classes in Latin and Greek grammar.³⁸ Only once this material had been mastered would a student move up to study humanities, the

³⁶ Padberg, "Development of the Ratio," 83-4.

³⁷ Padberg, "Development of the Ratio," 86.

³⁸ A brief note on terminology: A class refers to a grade as that term is understood in contemporary American primary education, as well as to the students within that grade. It can also refer to the actual classroom unit. A course refers to a particular sequence in the curriculum leading to a degree: the commercial course leading to a B.S. for example.

Jesuit term for developing a richer understanding of texts as literature. Only upon completion of this class would a student be allowed to study rhetoric and so on up the educational ladder.³⁹ The prefect of studies examined a student upon entrance and placed him in the class that best matched his skills. The student then advanced through the progression of classes, from grammar through humanities and rhetoric to philosophy, in a set order. He would only be promoted upon proving his mastery of the subjects in said class. This meant certain students advanced at a different rate than others, rather than every student advancing according to his age.⁴⁰ This system stands in contrast to a medieval university, such as Oxford, where students would study natural philosophy, rhetoric, law, and church history concurrently throughout their course. Inherent to

Organization of Classes in American Jesuit Colleges			
Name in <i>Ratio Studiorum</i>	Name in Nineteenth-Century Colleges		Approximate Modern Equivalent
---	Rudiments		Pre-High School
Infirma Grammatica	Third Grammar/Academic		Freshman/Sophomore
Media Grammatica	Second Grammar/Academic		Junior/Senior
Suprema Grammatica	First Gramar/Academic		Freshman
Humaniora	Poetry/Humanities		Sophomore
Rhetorica	Rhetoric		Junior
Philosophia (1st Year)	Philosophy		Senior
Philosophia (2nd Year)	Philosophy	Post-Graduate	Post-Graduate Course
Philosophia (3rd Year)	Philosophy		
N.B. The modern equivalent is not meant to express equivalency in content or rigor, but an approximation of the name only.			

³⁹ Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts," 26-31.

⁴⁰ Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts," 22-67.

this gradation was the assumption of prescription; every student would cover the same material. Unlike twenty-first century colleges, Jesuit pupils had absolutely no choice in what classes they took. It went without saying that the faculty knew best what the student should take.

The gradation of classes in turn presupposed and required some subjects to be subordinated to others. In this language of the *Ratio*, this meant that a particular subject was either a major subject or an accessory. Unsurprisingly, both Greek and Latin topped the list of major subjects. Philosophy and then theology took pride of place in the later stages, although only Jesuits or other clergy would advance to theological study. Accessory subjects included mathematics, natural philosophy (which later becomes science), geography, and history.⁴¹ The distinction between major and accessory was not to suggest that substantial time was not occasionally spent on accessory subjects, but served as a reminder that classical literature remained the primary focus of the Jesuit education. A complement to this principle of subordination was the spirit of coordination. As suggested by the names of the particular classes – grammar, humanities, rhetoric– each class had a particular focus. All of the work in that class, both in major and accessory subjects, was meant to support and contribute to the central focus of that class. Coordination, subordination, and gradation of classes all contributed to the Jesuit’s aim of providing a cohesive education.

The teaching within each class also differed from the medieval universities, where professors lectured on an individual text without any student engagement. Jesuit educators prized student engagement and developed numerous methods to encourage students to master material more quickly, many taken from the *modus parisiensis*. They would regularly drill them on topics covered in previous classes or ask them to summarize the content of lecture. For the higher classes, they would host philosophical disputations and other contests. The Jesuits introduced the

⁴¹ Bernard, “The Faculty of Arts,” 96-124.

practice of awarding medals and prizes to the winners. Drama and music, in addition to providing good training in elocution, also fostered a spirit of excitement for learning.⁴² This excitement frequently achieved its desired effect and other educators regularly noted that the Jesuit's students mastered material much quicker than their own students.

Mastery was hugely important because Jesuit schools operated by a system of promotion based on achievement, rather than time or age. When students entered, the prefect of studies placed them in the class that best matched their demonstrated ability. From there on, students moved on to the next class by proving their mastery of material through examination. In the lower classes, particularly the grammar classes, advanced students frequently moved up to the next class mid-year. The Jesuits facilitated this by holding examinations at the end of every term and by reviewing material from the first term in the second, which allowed students to move up mid-year without falling behind.⁴³ This did not mean, however, that the Jesuits simply encouraged their student speed through the course. Especially in the rhetoric class, students were actually encouraged to spend more than one year mastering the material.⁴⁴

Finally, a word on discipline. To maintain order among hundreds of young boys, some as young as eight or nine, was, and remains, no easy task. Under the direction of the prefect of discipline, the Jesuits relied on a team of prefects to supervise the students. For those who boarded at the school, life outside the classroom was strictly regimented.⁴⁵ While this approach mirrored the *in loco parentis* approach taken by every other European educational institution until the nineteenth century, the Jesuits combined it with a deep commitment to fostering the religious devotion of their students. Formal catechism represented only a tiny amount of

⁴² O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 216.

⁴³ Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts," 44.

⁴⁴ Bernard, "The Faculty of Arts," 38.

⁴⁵ This style of discipline remained until far into the twentieth century. Raymond Schroth, *Fordham: A History and Memoir* (Chicago: Jesuit Way, 2002), 89.

instructional time, so the Jesuits relied on the religious atmosphere of the schools to nurture students in the Catholic faith.⁴⁶ Students were required to regularly attend mass and go to confession and they were strongly encouraged to participate in devotional organizations, called confraternities or sodalities. Since the Jesuits saw their schools as another of their missions to “help souls,” this emphasis on religious life makes sense. More importantly, however, they saw the religious element of school life as a direct complement to the academics. The ultimate aim of both was the cultivation of *pietas*, moral living.⁴⁷

The concept of *pietas* provides a useful shorthand to speak about the goals of Jesuit education. Although fundamentally rooted in an interior understanding of upright living, *pietas* was fundamentally a public virtue. Upon leaving school, students were expected to go into the world to be a force for good. As one Jesuit put it in a letter to King Phillip II of Spain, “the proper education of youth will mean the improvement for the whole world.”⁴⁸ Grandiose statements like this were not uncommon among humanists, or indeed some Jesuits, when discussing the purpose of education. Juan de Polanco, S.J., an influential early Jesuit and close friend of Ignatius, put it perhaps more realistically when he wrote, “those who are now only students will grow up to be pastors, civic officials, administrators of justice, and will fill other important posts to everyone’s profit and advantage.”⁴⁹ The academic work inside the classroom and the religious life outside of it was intended to prepare the Jesuit’s students to be morally upright men of the world.

⁴⁶ It’s worth noting that many Jesuit schools, including in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, were open to non-Catholics. Officially, these students were exempt from attending Catholic religious services.

⁴⁷ O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 212.

⁴⁸ The Latin: *Institute puerorum, reformatio mundi*. O’Malley, “Involved in Education,” 66.

⁴⁹ Quoted in O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 212.

3. “Gentlemen Adventurers:” Jesuits in Maryland

The Society of Jesus had been active in the Americas since soon after its founding, but, because of religious and political realities in Europe, it focused its attention on the territories in Spanish, Portuguese, and French America. It would be almost a full century until the Jesuits began to minister in English America. The beginnings of what would eventually become the Maryland Province were not particularly auspicious, especially compared with the expansive Jesuit reductions in Paraguay or the grand colleges in the Spanish and Portuguese colonial capitals. Just three men, two priests and a lay brother, comprised the original mission. They sailed with Lord Baltimore’s initial expedition in 1634, but had to board the ships at the Isle of Wight to avoid the antipapist oath the other colonists were required to take.⁵⁰

Upon arriving in Maryland, the Society was gifted several thousand acres of land to support its endeavors. This land was meant to provide the financial underpinning for their operations, as well as a home base for their various missions. In spite of this generous initial gift, the Jesuits initially lacked the workforce to fully utilize it until the arrival of large number of slaves in subsequent decades. This lack of personnel extended to the Jesuits themselves; only fourteen Jesuits arrived in the first decade and few of them survived long, many of them succumbing to illness.⁵¹ In spite of these difficulties, their presence grew steadily over the next century and a half. They served as itinerant pastors for the scattered Catholic communities in Maryland. They owned, and ministered to, hundreds of slaves. They even engaged in occasional, and largely informal, teaching.

⁵⁰ Schroth, *The American Jesuits*, 23-25.

⁵¹ Schroth, *The American Jesuits*, 27.

3.1 Georgetown Academy

The Suppression in 1773 derailed some of the Society's work in Maryland, although much less drastically than in other nation's colonial possessions. Whereas the Society was forcibly expelled from South America and hundreds of Jesuits were deported to Italy, in the English colonies the Jesuits shed their official titles and continued their work under the auspices of new organizations.⁵² One such, now former, Jesuit was a thirty-seven year-old John Carroll (1735-1815). Recently returned from Europe, where he had studied at Jesuit colleges in Belgium and entered the Society, Carroll wanted to found a school for American Catholics so that they would not have to pursue their education in Europe. Elected in 1784 as the superior of the Catholic clergy, who were the few ex-Jesuits from the original Maryland mission in the English colonies, Carroll had to put this plan on hold for several years. He finally acquired a suitable site in 1787, just up the hill from the bustling port of Georgetown.⁵³ In 1891, it would become part of the newly formed District of Columbia.

Plans for the new school, styled as an academy and not a college, envisioned a residential campus. It was to be open to all male students regardless of religious background, in keeping with the pluralistic ideal of the new nation. Although Georgetown claims 1789 as its founding date, it did not accept its first student until 1791. When classes began in January 1792, there were two students enrolled. Over the course of the year, this number would grow to around forty.⁵⁴ During the first decade of operation, 277 students attended Georgetown for some period of time. It was common in America during this period for students to attend an institution without

⁵² Schroth, *The American Jesuits*, 51-2.

⁵³ Robert E. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: From Academy to University 1789-1889* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown UP, 2010), 18-22.

⁵⁴ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 36.

completing the entire course and this pattern was present at Georgetown. Most students attended for less than two years.⁵⁵

The curriculum during this period resembled that of the English colleges in exile on the Continent that the Society had run prior to the Suppression and where Carroll himself had studied. All five of the lower classes (lower, middle, and upper grammar; humanities; and rhetoric) were represented. The study of Latin and Greek classics dominated the curriculum. However, Georgetown also placed a heavy emphasis on the study of the vernacular, both English and French, as well as mathematics, geography, and history. Especially in mathematics, the curriculum gave significant attention to vocational subjects such as bookkeeping and surveying.⁵⁶ While differing from the precise curriculum laid down by the *Ratio Studiorum*, the prevalence of these accessory subjects was not without precedent. Mathematics had always had a strong presence in Jesuit colleges and prior to the Suppression other non-classical subjects had been working their way into the curriculum, including vernacular literature.⁵⁷ The often-noted American preference for practical knowledge undoubtedly had some effect on the curriculum as well.

One thing that was surprisingly absent from the original Georgetown curriculum was instruction in the natural sciences.⁵⁸ The Society had produced a large number of talented natural philosophers, scientists, over the preceding centuries and natural philosophy had been a central part of their curriculum since the beginning.⁵⁹ However, it was traditionally part of the faculty of philosophy. As an academy, Georgetown lacked such a faculty and thus omitted instruction in

⁵⁵ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 38.

⁵⁶ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 45-46.

⁵⁷ Padberg, "Development of the Ratio Studiorum," 95.

⁵⁸ The precise point where natural philosophy truly becomes modern science is hard to pin down, but for the sake of clarity I will refer to natural philosophy in the post-Suppression Society as science.

⁵⁹ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 46.

science until it instituted a philosophy faculty in the late 1790s. Although it would be a full century before Georgetown adopted modern laboratory science classes, the introduction of science back into the curriculum left a lasting imprint on Georgetown and the American Jesuit colleges as a whole.

Since Georgetown was founded during the Suppression, it did not begin life as a recognized Jesuit community. As such, and with the lack of any formal hierarchy to assign faculty members, Carroll struggled to staff his academy. He managed to convince Robert Plunkett (1752-1815), a former English Jesuit, to become the first president. But the English Province, which manned the Maryland missions prior to the Suppression, had not been in the habit of sending their best teachers overseas, so Plunkett relied on a mix of former Jesuits, diocesan priests, Sulpician priests and seminarians, and lay teachers.⁶⁰ The original faculty consisted of around thirty members, about half academic teachers and half tutors, most of whom stayed less than two years. Given the lack of former Jesuits on the faculty, the tenor of the education at the academy was likely closer to a seminary than a traditional Jesuit school.

3.2 Restoration and Expansion (1814-1846)

That dearth of Jesuits began to be corrected in 1805, the year the former Maryland Jesuits rejoined the remnants of the Society then based in Russia. Five of the former Jesuits in Maryland reentered the Society that year and began accepting new members a year later. The new Jesuits were welcome, as Georgetown was struggling financially.⁶¹ It had seen declining enrollment, and with the continuing trouble finding faculty, had been unable to make significant progress. The return of the Jesuits temporarily bolstered the faculty, but a short-lived school in New York City,

⁶⁰ The Sulpicians were a Catholic religious order from France who dedicated themselves to educating clergy. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 35.

⁶¹ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 63-5.

the Literary Institute (1808-12), drew away half of Georgetown's active teachers.⁶² Only the arrival of Giovanni Grassi, S.J. (1775-1849), a talented Italian intellectual and administrator, in 1812 was able to keep the now-college afloat. Over the course of the next two years, Grassi worked tirelessly to improve the standing of Georgetown.⁶³ It would have its ups and downs over the next half century, but its continuing existence would never again be in doubt.

Two important things happened during Grassi's third year at Georgetown: the Society was restored throughout the world and Georgetown was finally allowed to grant degrees. Of these two, the first was admittedly more celebrated, but they both marked important turning points for Jesuit educators in the United States. When Georgetown was initially founded, Carroll decided not to apply for a charter for the new institution. Without a charter, the academy could grant no degrees. However, Carroll feared that a charter would give the government too much control over his institution.⁶⁴ Given that most students did not complete the course anyway, and that this in no way prejudiced them in finding employment, there was no pressing need for a charter.

By 1814, the situation had changed. Due to a number of legal decisions, states could no longer meddle in the business of educational institutions even if they did possess a charter. Rather, the charter had developed into a true protective measure for the college that shielded it from liability and granted it a level of legitimacy. Grassi applied for a charter through a Georgetown alumnus, William Gaston, who was a congressman at the time. The charter was approved in March 1815 and granted Georgetown the status of a corporation in the District of Columbia. It also allowed the college to grant degrees, which it first did in 1817.⁶⁵ This marked

⁶² Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 66.

⁶³ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 70-1.

⁶⁴ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 80-1.

⁶⁵ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 82.

the first official interaction between the federal government and a Jesuit college. The relationship that would develop between these two organizations was not always smooth, but it would increasingly define Georgetown's development over the next two centuries.

The end of the Suppression and restoration of the Society in 1814 was a joyous moment for the Jesuits working in Maryland and around the world. They celebrated with *te deums* and masses – their long wait was over. Once the celebration ended, they began slowly to pick up the pieces of a system that, as mentioned above, had been wrecked by the Suppression. One of the first steps was to call a General Congregation, a worldwide meeting of Jesuits, to assess the situation of the Society. At this meeting in 1820, the delegates present agreed that one of the most pressing needs was the revision of the *Ratio*. Although Jesuit educational practice had developed over the preceding centuries, the *Ratio* had not been revised since its 1599 publication. The forty-one year gap between suppression and restoration had caused an incredible loss of institutional memory. The Jesuits wanted a document that would reflect and codify the changes they had made since 1599. Moreover, they wanted to ensure their schools again reached the highest academic standards possible.⁶⁶ That meant, in one way or another, reckoning with the education requirements of the time.

While many considered the need for revision pressing, no real progress was made until the next General Congregation in 1829. The Superior General elected at that meeting, Jan Roothann, S.J. (1785-1853), assembled a committee to revise the *Ratio* for modern times. The committee's charge included specific instructions about how they were to approach their work, instructions that were indicative of the Jesuit approach to education change in the nineteenth century. Some of the instructions were signs of the Society's conservatism: the committee was to focus on revising the old document, not creating a new one, and it should keep to the spirit of the

⁶⁶ Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, 384-5.

original *Ratio*. However, Roothaan also asked the committee members to consider the procedures of other schools, the requirements of the various countries in which the Society worked, and consult other Jesuits as much as possible.⁶⁷ This combination of consultation, awareness of the surrounding context, and determined inertia characterized much of the Jesuit's response to the changes in education during the century.

The new *Ratio Studiorum*, completed in 1832, perfectly embodied this approach. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the new *Ratio* is that it was never officially approved. No General Congregation ever gave it the official stamp of approval, probably because the Jesuits realized no single curriculum would be accepted across every country in which they worked. As such, from a legislative perspective, it did not have the same legal force as the original *Ratio*. The Superior General pushed the provinces to adopt the revised edition and in this he was largely successful. Based on the writings of contemporary American Jesuits and the curricula implemented in their schools, it is evident that the 1832 edition of the *Ratio* dominated Jesuit educational thought for the rest of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One major reason for that dominance was that not much changed from the 1599 edition to the 1832 one; in fact, most of the document remained exactly the same. The only major revisions were in the area of curriculum. Of the changes implemented in the new version, a number stand out as particularly impactful. The study of vernacular languages was raised to a major subject, putting it on almost equal footing with Greek and Latin. History, geography, and basic mathematics were all made accessory subjects in the humanities faculty, giving them an officially sanctioned place outside of philosophy for the first time. Science education was expanded: physics was included in the philosophy course and more space was made for chemistry and astronomy. The philosophy course itself was divided. Now only the first year was

⁶⁷ Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, 387.

mandatory, while the second and third were optional for students of the appropriate talent.⁶⁸

Some of these changes were responses to the broader shifts in education during the previous forty years. Most of them, however, were at least in part the codification of changes which had already been accepted practice in Jesuit schools prior to the Suppression. The new *Ratio* trod a middle path between complete embrace of change and reactionary conservatism. As Roothaan put it, “The adaptation of the *Ratio Studiorum*, therefore, means that we consult the necessities of the age so far as not in the least to sacrifice the solid and correct education of youth.”⁶⁹

In many ways, the 1832 *Ratio* set the tone for the rest of the century. It made allowance for some change, especially when that change aligned with the Jesuit’s own experiences and presuppositions. The elevation of science is a perfect example of this. At the same time, it remained firmly committed to the value of a classical education. Greek and Latin remained at the heart of the curriculum and the administration, method, and discipline of the Jesuit schools remained unchanged. But the *Ratio* was only a single document – albeit a powerfully symbolic one. It would be up to the Jesuits on the ground to define what a Jesuit education would mean in the nineteenth century.

This quest for definition in Maryland was defined by expansion. Whereas the Society saw itself expelled or banned from teaching in a number of European countries over the next decade, the Jesuits expanded their operations in the United States. By the early 1840s, the Maryland Jesuits were more assured of their footing at Georgetown. A major cause of this assurance was the settlement of an internal debate among the Maryland Jesuits. The original model for the Jesuits’ operation consisted of large plantations supporting rural mission activity. Beginning in the 1790s, a debate arose over whether that was the wisest use of resources. Many of the younger

⁶⁸ Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, 390-1.

⁶⁹ Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, 388.

Jesuits wanted to focus attention on the schools rather than the plantations. This debate was inevitably tied up in the question of slavery, which would continue to divide the Jesuits until the Civil War. By the 1830s, this debate had been largely settled in favor of the schools and the Jesuits moved forward with developing Georgetown. The reduction of Georgetown's debt, which would continue to plague the college through the 1840s, was a major element of this plan. As part of this effort to reduce the debt, the president of Georgetown, Thomas Mulledy, S.J. (1794-1860), sold 272 slaves from the Jesuit plantations.⁷⁰

Other developments in the 1830s helped encourage development at Georgetown. The pope granted the school a charter that authorized it to issue theological degrees in 1838.⁷¹ By the technical standards of the Society, this made Georgetown a university since it possessed the ability to have multiple faculties. While this was most certainly not the case in operation, it marked an important step towards Georgetown becoming a true Jesuit college and not the half-measure that was the academy. The student population also showed signs of growth. By the beginning of the 1840s, Georgetown had just over 200 students enrolled. In 1833, the Maryland Mission was raised to the status of a province.⁷² The Maryland Jesuits were now self-sustaining and no longer answerable to superiors in England. In the eyes of many, the time was ripe for expansion.

It was in the north that the Maryland Jesuits began their next adventure. The bishop of Boston, Benedict Fenwick, S.J. (1782-1846; bish. 1825-46), wanted to open a school in his diocese and given his own educational experience at Georgetown, he wanted the Jesuits to run it. Installed in 1825, he spent his first decade vainly attempting to convince the Maryland province

⁷⁰ Although outside the focus of this thesis, it is important to note that the sale of the slaves in 1838 represents a major blemish on Georgetown's record and produced repercussions that continue to this day. In recent months, it has been a major topic of discussion on the campus. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 128-29.

⁷¹ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 123.

⁷² Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 124.

to open a school in Boston.⁷³ Not until the early 1840s did he succeed in convincing Father General Roothaan to accept his offer of a nascent boarding school in Worcester, an industrial city in the center of Massachusetts. Part of the reason for the delay was the Maryland province's initial hesitation to accept the two conditions of Fenwick's proposal: that the school be a boarding school and that it be exclusively for Catholics. Although Georgetown accepted boarding students, it was also open to day students who made up around a third of the student body at this point. The Jesuits always preferred allowing day students because it kept down costs and was less labor-intensive. Fenwick, however, believed that the intensely Protestant atmosphere of New England required the seclusion of young minds for their own protection.⁷⁴ Thus, the desire for a boarding school (which prevented interaction with day students who were more likely to be Protestant) that was exclusively Catholic in nature.

The man chosen to head the new school was, like Fenwick, a Georgetown alumnus. Thomas Mulledy, S.J. had attended Georgetown as a student before joining the Society. He returned to serve as president in 1829 and in 1837 became Provincial of the Maryland province. Despite misgivings about some of Mulledy's management experience, especially his role in the 1838 slave sale at Georgetown, the Superior General installed him as rector and president of the new college, to be named the College of the Holy Cross, in 1843.⁷⁵ The new college remained largely dependent on Georgetown during the early years. The next two Holy Cross presidents who succeeded Mulledy had previously served as presidents of Georgetown.⁷⁶ In addition, it

⁷³ Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name: A History of the College of the Holy Cross, 1843-1994* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 20-21.

⁷⁴ Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 26-7.

⁷⁵ The head of all Jesuit colleges held the dual title of rector and president until the communities became separately incorporated in the 1970s. For the purposes of this paper, the titles are interchangeable. Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 34-5.

⁷⁶ James Ryder (1845-48) and John Early (1848-51). Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 40.

proved difficult to acquire a charter from the Massachusetts government for Holy Cross. Thus, Georgetown would grant Holy Cross' degrees until a charter could be secured in 1865.⁷⁷

The student body grew quickly. By the end of the 1840s, enrollment had topped 100 students and continued to grow as fast as space would allow.⁷⁸ At least ten Jesuits bore responsibility for teaching them. Students could enter one of three courses: professional, commercial, or ecclesiastical. The professional course encompassed the offerings prescribed by the 1832 Ratio, while the commercial course marked a concession to the “practical” desires of parents.⁷⁹ It did not include Latin or Greek, but rather focused on skills necessary for entering the world of business. The ecclesiastical course grew from Bishop Fenwick's desire for Holy Cross to produce priests for his diocese. It included all of the work of the professional course, in addition to introductory studies in theology. It did not prove popular and was dropped in 1858.⁸⁰ Thus, by the end of its second decade Holy Cross' curriculum fairly closely resembled that of Georgetown.

While the Maryland Jesuits labored to get Holy Cross on its feet and keep Georgetown running, halfway between them a new Jesuit venture was about to begin. The French Jesuits who had been serving as missionaries in Kentucky were having a hard time of it. Low enrollment and poor funding plagued their schools. A pair of students had even burned down a dormitory in 1833.⁸¹ At the same time, in New York City, Bishop John Hughes (1797-1864; bish. 1842-64) was looking for someone to staff his failing seminary. Opened in 1840, it had only one faculty member and six students and went through five presidents in four years. Hughes looked to the Jesuits for help, but did not want Jesuits from Maryland because he feared his school would play

⁷⁷ Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 118.

⁷⁸ Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 52.

⁷⁹ Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 54.

⁸⁰ Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 55.

⁸¹ Schroth, *Fordham*, 11.

second fiddle to Georgetown. Luckily, at the very same moment he was looking for teachers, the Kentucky Jesuits were looking for a better situation. New York City seemed like an all-around better option than the frontier. So in 1846, they packed up and moved to the city. Or rather, they moved to a small town north of Manhattan called Fordham.

Because the Kentucky missions had been a project of the French province, they did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Maryland province when they arrived in New York. Rather, they were attached to the Canadian mission, which was also staffed from France. The New York-Canada mission, its name following elevation to independent mission status in 1869, thus remained administratively separate from the Jesuits working both north and south of it.⁸² This meant that the East Coast was divided: the Maryland Province split in the middle by a New York-shaped hole.

Upon arriving at Fordham, the French Jesuits, under the leadership of Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J. (1807-85), took charge of Bishop Hughes' seminary. Called St. John's College, it was actually a combination of seminary, Jesuit novitiate, scholasticate, and college for lay students.⁸³ The new leadership decided to let the current system run for a year and see how everything worked. It proved to be utter chaos. Faculty members taught so many classes to so many different levels of students that there was no sense of continuity for either student or teacher. By 1847, it was clear to the Jesuits that this simply would not do. They laid out new requirements for a bachelor's degree, which included passing a number of subject exams and extensive working knowledge of Greek and Latin. They limited the number of classes a teacher

⁸² Arthur Bender, *A Brief History of the New York Province* (New York: New York Province of the Society of Jesus, 2014), 3-5.

⁸³ Schroth, *Fordham*, 18.

could teach so that he could spend more time with his students. And finally, they adopted the standard curriculum from Georgetown.⁸⁴

This Georgetown curriculum was the organizational model that most Jesuit colleges on the East Coast would follow during the nineteenth century. It consisted of a lower division with four classes, covering the traditional three-year grammar course. The upper division consisted of humanities, rhetoric and the first year of philosophy. Upon completion of the, usually, seven-year course, students could earn their A.B. degree.⁸⁵ If students completed an additional year of philosophy, they could earn their masters. However, in the early years, there were a number of differences between St. John's and Georgetown. The French Jesuits at St. John's required more French classes and called the humanities class *belles lettres* instead of poetry, as it was named at Georgetown. St. John's also maintained a commercial course, which did not require Latin and Greek.⁸⁶

However, by far the biggest difference was in student discipline. The Jesuits at St. John's modeled their discipline on their experience back home, where most of the Jesuit colleges operated more like seminaries. Age groups were strictly separated and silence frequently enforced.⁸⁷ Students widely reported resenting the discipline system, which they considered especially harsh when compared to the relative laxity of Georgetown.⁸⁸ In spite of some student's views, by the end of the 1840s, the college enrolled on average 180 students each year. This put it on par with Georgetown's size and slightly larger than Holy Cross.

By 1846, the Jesuits on the East Coast operated three boarding colleges. All three were located just outside of a major city and enrolled between 150 and 250 students. Although

⁸⁴ Schroth, *Fordham*, 29-31.

⁸⁵ The Jesuits hold to the Latin degree name, *artium baccalaureus*, which is abbreviated A.B.

⁸⁶ Although only 23% of students were enrolled in this option by 1861.

⁸⁷ Schroth, *Fordham*, 34

⁸⁸ Schroth, *Fordham*, 89

operated by two different groups of Jesuits, they shared many of the same administrative and curricular features. They can be said to comprise a distinct cohort that stood apart from the next group of schools the East Coast Jesuits would found.

3.3 Moving into the City (1846-1879)

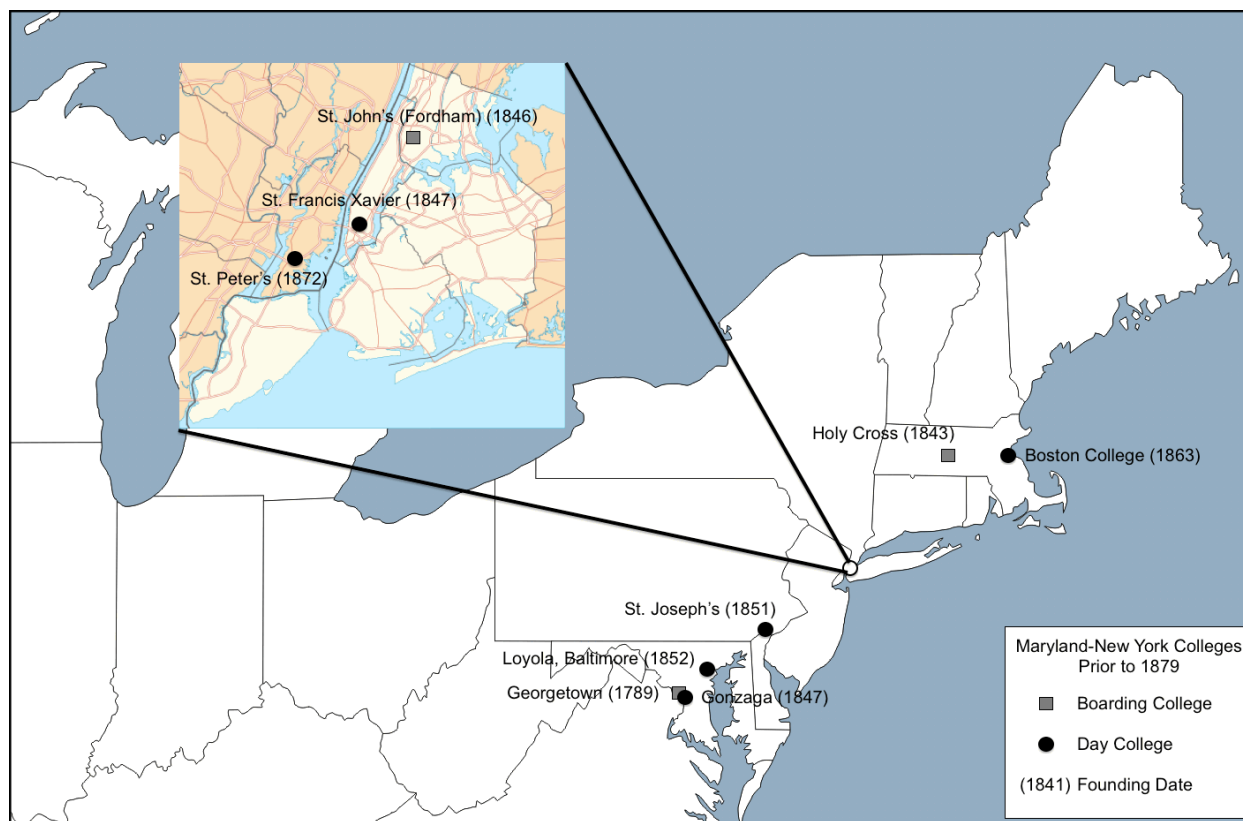
The next class of colleges the Jesuits would found knew nothing of the hills that dominated the landscape of Georgetown and Holy Cross or the open fields of Fordham. They were city schools, built up alongside the growing metropolises of the industrial Northeast. They generally did not seek the geographic or religious diversity of the boarding colleges, excepting Holy Cross. Rather, they drew their students from the Catholic communities of the cities they served. Unlike the majority at the boarding colleges, students lived at home and commuted daily. These colleges were called day colleges, after the type of students they served, and they would be the preferred model for the schools the Jesuits founded over the next three decades.⁸⁹

The primary impulse for these colleges was the growth of the Catholic immigrant population in northern cities. Most urban Catholics could not afford to send their sons away to school, the three boarding colleges did not have the capacity to handle the potential influx of students even if they could, and the Society did not have the funds to build more boarding colleges to make any more room for them. The Society had always preferred day colleges anyway, as the expense of housing students was often prohibitive for all involved.⁹⁰ In this sense, the three boarding colleges could be viewed as something of an aberration from the Jesuits' usual pattern.

⁸⁹ Data from *The Woodstock Letters* 8 (1879).

⁹⁰ William J McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 224.

An examination along the same lines as the *Ratio*, administration, curriculum, method, and discipline, will help draw out the similarities and differences between the boarding and day colleges. In terms of the administration, the biggest difference was size. Up to 1879, day colleges tended to be either much larger or much smaller than the boarding colleges. Due to the constraints of dormitory capacity, enrollment at the boarding colleges tended to hover between 150 and 200 students. The day colleges, on the other hand, ranged widely from Loyola, Baltimore which had 87 students in 1878 to St. Francis Xavier had 529 that same year.⁹¹ The only limit on size for these schools was the number of students who could fit in the classrooms. The day colleges also required less staff per student, because they did not need residential prefects to supervise boarders. These smaller staffing needs made day colleges incredibly



⁹¹ Data from *The Woodstock Letters* 8 (1879).

attractive to the Society.

From a curricular and a method standpoint, the day colleges were almost identical to the boarding colleges. They all worked from the same curriculum, rooted in the *Ratio Studiorum*, and used the same teaching techniques. The only major difference lay in the distribution of students within the curriculum. A major issue for the Jesuits through the early twentieth century was that they attracted far more students to their preparatory divisions than their collegiate divisions.⁹² This gave them a reputation as being, in modern terms, high school teachers rather than professors and was something they spent much effort trying to alter. This disparity was most pronounced in the day colleges. Whereas at the boarding colleges, preparatory students made up the slim majority of students by the mid-1890s, they continued to dominate the day colleges through the 1920s. For example, whereas in 1895 Holy Cross had 148 collegiate students and 133 preparatory students, St. Peter's, a day college, had 68 collegiate students and 191 preparatory students.⁹³ It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the nineteenth-century colleges that ultimately became high schools were originally day colleges.

When it came to student discipline, the lack of boarders meant that student life did not extend beyond the classroom to the same extent. There was no need to maintain order in dorms or to see to study hours in the evening. The Jesuits still cultivated student religious life through sodalities and regular services, but these efforts only complemented the religious life of the students' homes. In all other aspects, discipline was identical.

The only significant organizational development that occurred during this period at the boarding colleges took place at Georgetown, which began expanding into professional education.

⁹² Preparatory is equivalent to the modern high school. Data from *The Woodstock Letters*, 1878-1926.

⁹³ Data from *The Woodstock Letters* 25 (1896).

It opened a medical school in 1851 and a law school in 1871.⁹⁴ Both of these schools operated in the evening only, so that students could complete their education while holding down a job. Although neither school would rank in the top of their fields, they both sustained solid enrollment and attracted some talented faculty. They would take on increased importance in the decades after the unification of the provinces.

By the beginning of the 1880s, the Jesuits operated two kinds of schools. One, the boarding schools, were located on the edge of major cities and educated predominantly collegiate students. According to their nature as boarding schools, they attracted students wealthy enough to afford the cost. The other system, the newer day schools, sat in the heart of the cities and focused on educating the large number of Catholic boys found there. They catered largely to preparatory students, although some of them educated a significant number of collegiate students as well. The education at both was deeply rooted in the *Ratio Studiorum*, although a few were experimenting with some type of non-classical course. Together, the two systems represented the Jesuits' initial attempts to adapt to the American educational landscape.

4. Challenges for the Jesuits

Phillip Gleason, a historian of the Jesuit schools in the twentieth century, argues that near the end of the nineteenth century the Jesuits began “contending with modernity” in a way they had not before.⁹⁵ Whereas Father General Roothaan could easily embrace educational developments that suited the Society and dismiss those that did not in the 1832 *Ratio Studiorum*, by the late nineteenth century that was no longer an option. The ground was shifting underneath

⁹⁴ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 360.

⁹⁵ Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

them and they had to find some way to adapt or risk being driven out of education entirely.

Gleason divides the challenges facing the Jesuits into two groups: organizational and ideological. Among the organizational challenges, the reorganization of secondary education proved perhaps the most pressing. On the ideological side, the rise of the research university brought the underlying assumptions of Jesuit education into question for the first time since the humanist-university divide of the early Society.

In responding to these challenges, the East Coast Jesuits drew on a three hundred year educational tradition. They looked to the spirit of the *Ratio* and tried to figure out how to adapt it yet again to fit the needs of the modern world. They also drew on the system they had built over the previous century. In 1879, the Jesuits in the Maryland Province and New York-Canada Mission ran more colleges than any other Jesuit province in the country or indeed any organization in the United States. With the creation of the Maryland-New York Province that year, it became the largest educational system in the country. This system would provide important advantages in facing the new educational landscape, but it also brought with it its own set of challenges.

Chapter 3: Curricular Unity

“Faithful adherence to this program, and in detail to the prescribed courses, will at once insure more universal and complete uniformity in our colleges and high schools, and will raise our standard of studies and scholarship higher and nearer to the ideal which as Catholic educators we should desire and strive to attain.”

- Revised Program of Studies, 1923⁹⁶

1. Order or Adaptation?

Although the Jesuits operated their schools on a common curricular foundation, each college adapted somewhat to the needs of its local community. Taking the *Ratio Studiorum* as its building block, years of slightly differing interpretation and institutional inertia, combined with the financial and spiritual realities of the time, contributed to the difference between the various colleges’ curricula. The Society wanted to educate as many boys as it could manage in order to fulfill its religious mission, so the more attractive (within limits) their course was to students, the better. There was also a financial desire to attract students; without them, it would be impossible to operate the colleges. In opposition to this spirit of adaptation was the broader conservatism of nineteenth-century American Catholicism, which was especially pronounced among the Maryland-New York Jesuits. This conservatism expressed itself in the educational sphere as a desire for order. As a result, there developed a tension between the desire for provincial unity on one hand and the adaptations made at individual colleges on the other.

In addition to the financial and spiritual considerations, the developments in American higher education during the end of the nineteenth century put pressure on the Jesuits to adapt. In this case, it was adaptation in a broader sense: whether to maintain the Jesuit’s traditional curriculum or adopt the innovations being made in secular universities. This question would act as the catalyst for a province-wide conversation on curricular unity. Begun in earnest in the

⁹⁶ “Revised Program of Studies, 1923,” Maryland Province Archives (hereafter MPA), Box 98, Folder 1, Georgetown University Archives (hereafter GUA).

1890s, it would continue until 1923. Throughout this period, the educational leaders of the Province dedicated considerable resources to attempting to develop a unified, provincial curriculum. They initially met with limited success. A truly unified curriculum would not be implemented until 1923 and was not possible until the Jesuits abandoned much of what was at the heart of earlier unification attempts.

2. The *Ratio Studiorum* in 1880

As the 1880s opened, the classical curriculum at Jesuit colleges still closely adhered to the 1832 edition of the *Ratio*. The study of classical Latin and Greek literature held pride of place throughout the entire seven-year course. The final year focused on philosophy, with classes being conducted largely in Latin. Under the umbrella of “Natural Sciences,” students covered chemistry, physics, biology, astronomy, botany, geology, mechanics, and physiology.⁹⁷ The sheer number of scientific subjects meant that no one subject received a significant amount of focus, but the proliferation of subjects indicated that adaptation had continued throughout the century.

While all of the colleges within the province took the *Ratio Studiorum* as their guide, each college had developed its own variation by 1880. A look at the curricula at the three boarding colleges will provide a view into what some of those variations looked like. By far the greatest outlier were the non-classical courses being offered at Fordham and Georgetown. These courses, called the commercial and scientific course respectively, did not require the study of classical languages. They represented an attempt by the Jesuits to attract students who were uninterested or incapable of handling the Latin and Greek demanded by the classical education they prized. At Fordham, the course was framed as supplying all the knowledge “absolutely

⁹⁷ *Georgetown College Catalogue 1880-81*, GUA.

necessary for Mercantile purposes,” with Latin and Greek being replaced by bookkeeping and penmanship courses.⁹⁸ At Georgetown, the scientific course was aimed at “those who, after being well grounded in the elementary studies of Geography, History, Grammar and Composition, wish to devote themselves to English Literature, Mathematics, Sciences, and Modern Languages.”⁹⁹ In both cases, the course was framed as for those interested in other disciplines, but most Jesuits simply viewed them as dumbed-down versions of the classical course. This bias can be clearly seen by the fact that neither the scientific course nor the commercial course culminated in an A.B. degree. Commercial graduates at Fordham received a certificate, while scientific students at Georgetown received a B.S., which was considered a less rigorous degree.¹⁰⁰ Given the tension between Jesuits’ feelings about these programs and the desire of students and parents for non-classical courses, one of the major debates over the following decades would be the place and appropriateness of these commercial and scientific courses.

Among the classical courses at Fordham, Georgetown, and Holy Cross, the variation was less extreme but still noticeable. For example, at Georgetown the catalogues used both the Jesuit and American names for the classes. Thus, Rhetoric was also listed as the Junior Class. Holy Cross and Fordham, in contrast, continued to list only the Jesuit names until at least the middle of the decade. Another difference was in the scientific coursework. Whereas students at Holy Cross pursued only chemistry in their second and third years of collegiate work, students at Georgetown also studied physiology and mechanics. Accessory subjects differed between colleges as well. Fordham offered history as a separate subject, while Georgetown taught some history as part of English. Holy Cross taught history, but whereas Fordham began with American history, Holy Cross started with Ancient Rome. In the area of modern languages, Holy Cross

⁹⁸ *St. John’s College Catalogue 1879-80*, Fordham University Archives (hereafter FUA).

⁹⁹ *Georgetown College Catalogue 1880-81*, GUA.

¹⁰⁰ *Georgetown College Catalogue 1880-81*, GUA; *St. John’s College Catalogue 1879-80*, FUA.

offered French, Georgetown offered French and German, and Fordham offered German and Spanish.¹⁰¹

Variation abounded and this alone was enough reason for the Jesuit superiors in the province to desire that the colleges share a more consistent curriculum. As we have seen, unity and cohesion was a fundamental concern for Jesuit educators within their schools. So too was it across schools. While variation was a lived reality as each school adapted to its local circumstance, the conservative atmosphere of the Society during this time lent itself towards greater standardization. As a report from 1885 put it,

The question of the study of the Classics, being a very extensive one, it was at first thought advisable to rest contented with urging the paramount necessity of following the Ratio Studiorum in every particular, the Commission being unanimous in the conviction that in the closest adherence to the Ratio lies our best and surest way of unifying and improving the studies. This idea was rejected as in spite of all being in possession of the Ratio, *there is a lack of uniformity in the teaching and in the distribution of time of the different colleges*. Hence it was proposed, as the best and only method of meeting the wishes of Rev. Fr. Provincial and the need of the Colleges, *of preventing also the effects of innovation*, which always threatens where private judgment is the only rule - to draw up a full, in fact the fullest plan of studies for every branch, in every class, following in every detail, the letter of the Ratio.¹⁰²

These forces towards greater curricular unity within the province were growing by the 1880s, as evidenced by the committee that produced the above report. Soon, external forces would join these internal ones in impelling the province towards curricular change.

3. The Harvard Law Controversy

Conversations about curricular unity in the province had begun as early as the 1880s, but it was not until the 1890s that these conversations took on a sense of urgency. The first spark occurred in 1893, when the faculty at Harvard Law School and Harvard's president, Charles

¹⁰¹ *Holy Cross Bulletin 1879-80*, Archives of the College of the Holy Cross (hereafter ACHC). *Georgetown College Catalogue 1880-81*, GUA; *St. John's College Catalogue 1879-80*, FUA.

¹⁰² "Summary of Proceedings of the Commission to Improving and Unifying Studies," MPA, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA. Emphasis mine.

William Eliot, made a small decision with far-reaching consequences. The faculty decided that only graduates of Harvard College or comparable institutions would be admitted to the Law School.¹⁰³ This represented a major change from past practice; before this decision students could enter all of Harvard's professional schools right out of high school. The move was one component of a larger effort on the part of Harvard to raise standards for admission. The Law Faculty published a preliminary list of schools whose standards it saw as equivalent to those of Harvard College that summer. Graduates from these schools who met certain academic standards would automatically be admitted. Beginning in the 1896-97 academic year, graduates from schools not on the approved list would be required to take special entrance exams and would be admitted only as "special students." At the time of preliminary publication in April 1893, none of the twenty-four Jesuit colleges in the United States – nor any Catholic college for that matter – were included on it.

The editor of the *Boston Pilot*, the newspaper of the diocese of Boston, quickly noted this fact and wrote to President Eliot for an explanation. Eliot replied, explaining that the exclusion was not discriminatory, but rather the result of a low number of entrants to the Law School from Catholic colleges. Eliot offered a possible reason for this, explaining that,

The programme of studies in Catholic colleges is so different from that pursued in the leading Protestant or undenominational colleges, that, when a young graduate of a Catholic college desires to enter a Protestant or undenominational college with advanced standing, he finds that his studies have, to a considerable extent, not been equivalent to those pursued in the college he wishes to enter.¹⁰⁴

Catholic educators, especially the Jesuits, were incensed by this explanation. They viewed it, as Eliot surely intended it, as a direct attack on the validity of their educational model. What Eliot was referring to was a radical curricular change underway at Harvard, and other 'university

¹⁰³ The following narrative on the Harvard Law Controversy in the following paragraphs comes from Kathleen Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2003), 32-37.

¹⁰⁴ Charles William Eliot, quoted in Mahoney, *Jesuits and Harvard*, 33.

movement' institutions, that centered on student choice. As explained in the introduction, this *electivism* was anathema to supporters of the prescribed, classical course – Jesuits included.¹⁰⁵

Eliot's attack aimed at the heart of the Jesuit educational enterprise. As such, it galvanized the Maryland-New York Jesuits into action. J. Havens Richards, S.J., president of Georgetown from 1888-98, wrote to Eliot in the summer of 1893 to provide information that he believed proved Georgetown merited inclusion on the Law School's list. Later in the summer, he broadened his request to include Boston College and Holy Cross, the two Jesuit institutions in Massachusetts.¹⁰⁶ Eventually, following some urging from the provincial, Richards expanded his request to include all the Jesuit colleges in the Maryland-New York Province. His reasoning behind this request was simple:

Colleges of the Society of Jesus in New England, along the Atlantic seaboard of the Middle States and in Maryland are all under one management, and are all intended to be of the same grade. Hence it is desirable that where one of them appears none, at least of the larger and complete colleges (Georgetown, Fordham, St. Francis Xavier, N.Y., Holy Cross, Boston College) should be omitted. For my part, I should personally prefer to see Georgetown passed over, than to see it named without Fordham or St. Francis Xavier's.¹⁰⁷

Here, Richards displayed an example of conceptual interdependence to counter Eliot. The belief that all of the developed colleges in the province possessed the same curriculum or standards was simply untrue. However, Richards clearly maintained a sense that they were, separate from their actual operation. This shows how the culture of the province produced ideas about the colleges that did not necessarily align with operational reality, at least according to Eliot.

Richards' exchange with Eliot was by no means the end of what would be called the 'Harvard Law Controversy.' Although the Law Faculty did eventually include Georgetown, Boston College, and Holy Cross in the first official list published in late 1893, it was not the total

¹⁰⁵ "Summary of Proceedings of the Commission to Improving and Unifying Studies," GUA.

¹⁰⁶ J. Havens Richards to Charles Eliot, 3 August 1893, J. Havens Richards Papers (hereafter JHR), Box 5, Folder 7, GUA.

¹⁰⁷ Richards to Eliot, 20 September 1893, JHR, Box 5, Folder 7, GUA.

victory for Jesuit education that Richards claimed it to be.¹⁰⁸ In 1898, following Fordham's application for inclusion on the list of approved schools, Harvard not only denied Fordham but also dropped Boston College and Holy Cross from their list. When the President of Holy Cross, John Lehy, S.J. (pres. 1895-1901), wrote demanding an explanation, Eliot answered that, "We found on inquiry that graduates of Boston, Holy Cross and Fordham would not be admitted even to the *Junior Class* of Harvard College."¹⁰⁹ Yet again, Eliot and Harvard had publically disparaged the quality of Jesuit education. Moreover, their response pointed to the same issues that the Jesuits were already concerned with: the lack of consistency across their colleges.

Harvard's action and Eliot's explanation sparked several more years of acrimonious debate, with both sides publishing heated letters defending their position and defaming the other. For those Jesuits who paid attention to such matters, this battle with Harvard was a sign of things to come.¹¹⁰ Until 1893, the Jesuits had been able to continue their educational practices without worrying about the changes swirling around them. They attracted enough students and sat secure enough in their place at the top of the Catholic educational world that they saw no need to change. The Harvard Law Controversy made it painfully clear that this was no longer true. If Jesuit degrees proved to have as little credit elsewhere as Eliot and the Harvard Law faculty felt they did, what value did they have to their bearers? If, as indeed appeared to be the case in the 1890s, other educational institutions leaned the same way as Harvard, would a Jesuit education eventually become completely valueless in the non-Catholic world?

Some of the arguments used by Eliot in the course of the controversy also hit close to home for the Province. His comments about the disparity between Fordham, Holy Cross, Boston, and Georgetown aligned with worries that the Jesuits felt about their own schools. It was this

¹⁰⁸ Richards to Eliot, 24 August 1893, JHR, Box 5, Folder 7, GUA.

¹⁰⁹ Charles Eliot to John Lehy, 24 October 1898, MPA, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA. Emphasis added.

¹¹⁰ This is the central argument of Mahoney's book.

combination of external pressure with an internal desire for unity that finally encouraged the Maryland-New York Jesuits to take substantial action toward curricular unity. It began a process that ultimately brought the various colleges in the Province closer together in curriculum, organization, and overall cooperation.

4. “Tinkering with Schedules”

This soul-searching found institutional expression in the most collaborative, Jesuit educational enterprise of the period: a series of committees meeting between 1896 and 1923 to consider the state of Jesuit education in the Province. These committees created a space for dialogue and cooperation between colleges that had not previously existed in any formal way. They drew on Jesuits from every college in the Province and brought them together to consider questions and challenges common to all of their institutions.¹¹¹ In this way, they were crucial in helping the Jesuits articulate a sense of ‘unity’ in their educational system. Moreover, the nature of their work helped at points to emphasize a corporate sense of identity *against* the innovations of the modern world. In addition, the committees produced concrete curricular and organization recommendations, which were widely adopted across the Province. In doing so, the committees generated markers of a province-wide *system* of higher education that built upon, but extended beyond, the *Ratio Studiorum*. Through doing these things, the committees served as the vehicles for collaboration within the Province.

These committees were comprised of a number of stakeholder groups. At their head sat the Provincial and his team of advisors, called *consultors*, who helped him administer the Province. Two different, but mutually supporting, groups represented the colleges. The first were the rector-presidents, who held administrative responsibility for the entire school. The second

¹¹¹ Provincial to Committee Members, 4 November 1908, MPA, Box 97, Folder 7, GUA.

were the prefects of studies, the men responsible for ensuring educational quality at their colleges. Since the prefects focused solely on curricular issues, they often did most of the labor on these committees.¹¹² The committees also consulted other Jesuits, who could be brought on to work on specific issues as the need arose.

Prior to the Harvard Law Controversy in 1893, the Maryland-New York Jesuits had only meet once to discuss issues of curriculum. They met during the fall of 1885 to discuss “improving and unifying” the program of studies in the province.¹¹³ The primary concern of this committee had been to make improvements to the existing curriculum and unifying the program of studies across the Province’s colleges. The report produced by the commission in 1886 bears this out. In a note appended to the introduction of the report, the authors explained that, “in spite of all being in possession of the Ratio, there is a lack of uniformity in the teaching and in the distribution of time of the different colleges.”¹¹⁴ In an attempt to rectify this lack of uniformity, the body of the report lays out in detail the textbooks and sections to be assigned for every subject for each year. This response is grounded in the idea that educational deficits can be solved by more meticulously laying out a curricular breakdown. In doing this, the report’s authors sit comfortably within the prescriptive tradition of the *Ratio*.

The conservative tone of the 1886 report reflected an educational conservatism that dominated the Jesuit order as a whole, and the Maryland-New York Province specifically, through the next decade. However, individual Jesuits, even some in positions of leadership like Richards, expressed more innovative positions. There was no organized group of liberal Jesuit educators during this period, but had there been one Richards would have been its leader. As one of the few Jesuits at the time who had pursued graduate education at a secular institution – he

¹¹² Joseph Hanselman to Maryland-New York Jesuits, 31 March 1908, MPA, Box 97, Folder 3, GUA.

¹¹³ “Summary of Proceedings of the Commission to Improving and Unifying Studies,” GUA.

¹¹⁴ “Summary of Proceedings of the Commission to Improving and Unifying Studies,” GUA.

took graduate courses in chemistry at Harvard – he was more attuned to the broader educational landscape than most.¹¹⁵ During his tenure as Georgetown’s president, he worked tirelessly to expand graduate education and professional education there. He also advocated for a greater number of elective courses for upperclassmen, a move that put him more in line with Eliot at Harvard than with his fellow Jesuits. However, Richards was unable to convince the province to fully back his program of changes at Georgetown.¹¹⁶

The corporate attitude of the province played a major role in constraining Richards, and other innovative Jesuits. While the provincial mood did not prevent Richards from exploring innovations at Georgetown, it did prevent them from spreading to other colleges. In fact, colleges found a fair amount of latitude in implementing the 1896 report. Thus, whereas the Jesuits at Holy Cross eagerly implemented the more conservative recommendations of the report, they were largely ignored at Georgetown.¹¹⁷ The weakness of any enforcement methods within the province structure allowed this to occur. Thus, individual colleges could continue to frustrate efforts at imposing curricular unity.

The next opportunity for province-wide collaboration, and the first of the post-Law School controversy meetings, took place at the province’s scholasticate, Woodstock, in July 1896. Assembled by the provincial, William Pardow, S.J. (prov. 1893-97), the committee gathered to undertake “the Revision of the Studies of the Province.” As would be the pattern at every subsequent meeting, every college of the province was represented. The presidents of Georgetown, Holy Cross, and Fordham were present, as well as a number of other major figures in Jesuit education, including Patrick Healy, S.J., the former president of Georgetown; James

¹¹⁵ Robert Emmett Curran, *History of Georgetown Vol. 2: The Quest for Excellence, 1889-1964* (Washington, DC: Georgetown UP, 2010), 5.

¹¹⁶ Curran, *History of Georgetown Vol. 2*, 20-24.

¹¹⁷ Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name: History of Holy Cross* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 137.

Fagan, S.J., the prefect of studies at St. Francis Xavier College; and Joseph Hanselman, S.J., the future provincial of the Province.¹¹⁸

This committee provided many Jesuits their first opportunity to discuss educational issues in an officially sanctioned setting. As Richards reported, “it was discovered that many of the Fathers had been making themselves familiar with the movements and tendencies of the educational world outside of the Society, and had been carrying on unknown to one another, studies and investigations along similar lines.”¹¹⁹ Through this committee, which continued to meet through 1897, these Jesuits were able to share the results of those studies and investigations with one another for the first time. In this way, the 1896 committee did more than revise the studies of the province. It also created a province-wide platform through which Jesuits could discuss the changes occurring in higher education. It was felt by the members of the committee that, “the comparison of ideas had been of the greatest benefit.”¹²⁰

The comparison of ideas reached beyond those immediately involved with the work of the committee itself. Members of the committee served as conduits through which other Jesuits could present ideas for consideration and discussion. For example, a Fr. Morgan visited Richards in October 1896 with a number of items for the committee to consider. Richards passed them along to Timothy Brosnahan, S.J., the chair of the committee. Although Richards believed that Morgan’s suggestions would “be deemed too radical to be seriously considered at this time,” that he was willing to pass them along demonstrates the role of the committees in creating a network for discussion among the province’s Jesuits.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ “Members of the Committee for Revision of Studies, Woodstock July 1896,” MPA, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA.

¹¹⁹ Richards to Samuel Frisbee, 3 September 1896, JHR, Box 6, Folder 4, GUA.

¹²⁰ Richards to Frisbee, 3 September 1896, GUA.

¹²¹ Richards to Timothy Brosnahan, 25 October 1896, JHR, Box 6, Folder 4, GUA.

Although it provided a vehicle for discussing the changes occurring in higher education, the recommendations ultimately offered by the committee were fundamentally conservative. When the committee eventually issued a new *schedule*, the Jesuit's term for a curricular program, it made only cosmetic changes to the existing curriculum.¹²² The only major change was in the naming of the classes. The committee decided to standardize the names of the collegiate years using American names (freshman, sophomore, etc.) instead of the classical ones.¹²³ This change largely affirmed developments already taking place at most of the province's colleges. Georgetown, for example, had been using the American names since at least 1880.¹²⁴ In all other areas of the schedule, the committee reaffirmed a conservative reading of the *Ratio Studiorum*. Since it did not make any major changes, it ultimately failed to provide any of the unity it had originally been intended to supply.

The 1896 schedule was intended to be the definite word on curriculum for the province, but it only kicked off several more rounds of revision. The next chance for revision occurred in 1901, when the prefects of studies for the province met twice to discuss “uniformity in all our colleges” and to consider the “difficulties presented by new schedule and the solution.”¹²⁵ Although these meetings did not result in the publication of a new schedule, they again provided a province-wide forum to discuss issues of curriculum. And again, just as in 1885, the focus of the meetings displayed a concern about curricular “unity” across the province's colleges.

The discussion in 1901 focused on two issues which most of the prefects felt were endemic to their colleges: a lack of competent teachers and an excessive amount of material

¹²² Mahoney, *Jesuits and Harvard*, 228.

¹²³ Richards to Frisbee, 3 September 1896, GUA.

¹²⁴ *Georgetown College Catalogue, 1880-81*, GUA.

¹²⁵ Notes from the Prefects of Studies Meeting, 29 August 1901, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

assigned for each year.¹²⁶ The prefects disagreed about the reasons behind this lack of competent teachers, but a number pointed to the unsatisfactory education that young Jesuits were receiving. Specifically in the natural sciences and in history, many of the prefects expressed a desire to have more specialist teachers. Since the province was responsible for training new Jesuits, this was a province-wide concern and shows the continuing concern over functional interdependence.

They also spent a significant amount of time discussing what material should be taught from what textbooks. Some prefects were worried that the current schedule tried to cover too much material. The majority of the prefects dismissed these concerns. The meeting then turned to the teaching of history, which at this time was done through a series of lectures without an assigned textbook. It was the only subject in the curriculum without a prescribed text. As such, a number of prefects commented that, since their teachers were not well prepared to teach history, the history classes lacked both quality and consistency.¹²⁷ The prefects responded, not unexpectedly, by suggesting a number of possible textbooks that could be used. Throughout the discussion, different prefects repeatedly emphasized the need for uniformity across classes.

The prefects of studies continued to meet through 1905, when they issued the next revised schedule. Working from materials solicited by the provincial Thomas Gannon, S.J. (prov. 1901-06) from throughout the province, the committee had compiled a list of concerns that the new schedule sought to address.¹²⁸ The list included a number of long-standing concerns, such as an excess of prescribed material and a lack of satisfactory textbooks, as well as new worries about the increase in the number of subjects being taught. When it issued the new schedule in 1905, the committee advised testing it for a year before publically announcing it. Following the

¹²⁶ Notes from Prefect of Studies Meeting, 27 December 1901, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹²⁷ Notes from Prefect of Studies Meeting, 27 December 1901, GUA.

¹²⁸ Thomas Gannon to the Rectors of the Maryland-New York Colleges, 1 January 1905, MPA, Box 97, Folder 8, GUA; Advisory Committee to Provincial, 21 August 1905, MPA, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA.

test run, the new schedule was officially adopted in 1906. With only two small changes, the official 1906 schedule was identical to the 1905 draft.¹²⁹

While the new schedule was fundamentally conservative, it made slight concessions to electivism in the upper classes and added more history to the lower classes. This prompted an outcry among the more conservative members of the province, who accused the committee of betraying the *Ratio*.¹³⁰ So although all of the province's colleges officially adopted the new schedule, it was not widely accepted. As such, it proved just as ineffective as past schedules in imposing any sense of unity on the Province's curriculum. This lack of acceptance, coupled with continued changes in the landscape of American higher education, quickly prompted the next provincial, Joseph Hanselman, S.J., (prov. 1906-12) to take action. In a letter to the entire province in 1908, Hanselman noted, "School education is nearly everywhere in all but a chaotic state. The colleges of our Province, as far as college education proper (from Freshman to Senior) is concerned, are in most cases wellnigh deserted." To address this issue, as well as other pressing concerns, he called yet another committee "whose purpose it will be to adjust everything into a harmonious system."¹³¹ Named the General Committee on Studies, it would constitute the most comprehensive attempt yet by the province to impose order on its own educational system.

The General Committee first met in April 1908. In preparation for its work, it sent out a list of thirteen questions to every college in the Province. Each college was required to prepare answers and bring them to the first meeting so they could form the basis of discussion. These questions were focused on issues which different colleges were handling in different ways. Many of them were also related to the broader changes taking place in American higher education. In

¹²⁹ "College Course Revised Schedule, July 1906," MPA, Box 97, Folder 4, GUA.

¹³⁰ Mahoney, *Jesuits and Harvard*, 231.

¹³¹ Hanselman to Maryland-New York Jesuits, 1 January 1908, MPA, Box 97, Folder 7, GUA.

this way, the General Committee represented the confluence of the two impulses that had originally sparked the 1896 committee over a decade prior.

Near the top of the list was a question at the forefront of the conversation about the place of the Jesuit's curriculum in the modern world: "Should a non-Greek or scientific course be allowed along with the classical?"¹³² Most Jesuits agreed that the classical language requirements drove away a large number of potential students and prior to 1908, a number of Maryland-New York colleges, including Georgetown, Fordham, and Holy Cross, had experimented with non-classical courses. These often half-hearted attempts met with varying levels of success. In the spirit of unifying the curriculum, the province was now to consider whether or not to allow these non-classical course across all of its colleges.

During the discussion at the April 1908 meeting, most of the Jesuits present expressed doubts that a non-classical course should be allowed in all of the Province's colleges. Both the prefect of studies at Georgetown and Holy Cross argued that a non-classical course should only be offered, "where *local* conditions demand it."¹³³ A number of other prefects argued that it was ill-advised to offer additional courses because of the lack of qualified teachers. When the committee voted on the issue, the majority of those present agreed that both a non-Greek and a scientific (no classical languages at all) could be offered at all of the province's colleges. However, it was unanimously decided that those courses should not be advertised province-wide. Rather, it was left up to the individual colleges to decide if and how to publicize such a course. As such, no instructions were produced for a non-classical course.¹³⁴

¹³² "Questions asked at Georgetown by General Committee, 20-21 April 1908," MPA, Box 97, Folder 3, GUA.

¹³³ "Proceedings of the General Committee on Studies of the Maryland-New York Province," MPA, Box 97, Folder 8, GUA.

¹³⁴ "Schedule of Studies for the College of the Maryland-New York Province, 1910," MPA, Box 97, Folder 8, GUA.

While the schedule published by the committee in 1910 failed to offer a province-wide curriculum for a non-classical course, it did provide the final fully-prescribed classical course for the Maryland-New York Province. Mahoney calls it the “last great stand for the *Ratio* in the eastern United States.”¹³⁵ It marked the high watermark of the Maryland-New York Jesuits’ attempts to provide a consistent curriculum across all of their colleges through detailed prescription. Although it did not provide guidance for non-Greek or scientific courses, it laid out the curriculum for the classical course in exacting detail. Just as with the previous schedules, it provided a list of the textbooks for each year and even suggested which pages should be covered in which semester.¹³⁶ However, not all of the colleges followed the schedule completely. Georgetown, for example, required only seven hours of Latin instruction a week for sophomores, even though the 1910 schedule required nine hours.¹³⁷

A number of other committees met during the following decade, but they did nothing to substantially alter the situation. It was not until the early 1920s that any further movement toward a consistent, province-wide curriculum took place. Beginning in 1919, another committee of prefects had begun meeting to consider alterations to the 1910 schedule.¹³⁸ This committee addressed many of the same questions that the General Committee had in 1908-09 and came to many of the same conclusions, including about the permissibility of offering a non-classical course. Unlike the General Committee, however, this new committee published those recommendations without any reservations in 1921. The flippant language of this report, which at one point asked, “Has not our own experience of the past decade convinced us that our students of today cannot or will not, certainly DO not, honestly and profitably accomplish the

¹³⁵ Mahoney, *Jesuits and Harvard*, 234.

¹³⁶ “Schedule of Studies for the College of the Maryland-New York Province, 1910,” MPA, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA.

¹³⁷ “Schedule of Studies for the College of the Maryland-New York Province, 1910,” GUA; *Georgetown College Catalogue, 1913-14*, GUA.

¹³⁸ “Notes from the meeting of Rectors and Prefects of Studies, 25 August 1919,” MPA, Box 98, Folder 1, GUA.

work of our present schedule and that therefore to meet the facts as we find them we should diminish it in point of quantity?" angered many Jesuits and almost guaranteed its recommendations would not be accepted.¹³⁹ This marked the fourth time that a committee's recommendations had been widely dismissed by the province. And so, yet again, there was no additional progress towards curricular unity.

In spite of this failure, within two years of its publication, most of the recommendations of this report made it into the new 1923 Schedule of Studies. Continued pressure from state governments and regional associations, as well as action by the Missouri Province of the Society, convinced the provincial leadership that some action was necessary.¹⁴⁰ The schedule took the recommendations of the 1921 report, removed the inflammatory language, and published them with only minor changes. While Laurence Kelly, S.J., the provincial from 1922-28, claimed that the new schedule "does not differ in essentials from the schedule prescribed in 1910," it represented a radical break from the past.¹⁴¹

Among the changes that the schedule made were to align entrance requirements for the freshman class with public school standards. Students' work was to be measured in *units*, a system advocated by Eliot and the Carnegie Foundation.¹⁴² Greek was no longer to be required for admission, but could be waived by the Board of Directors of individual colleges at their discretion. Nor was Greek to be a mandatory part of the curriculum, but rather optional for those who did not take it in high school. Electives were made a larger part of the curriculum and majors were introduced for the first time. These changes were designed to bring Jesuit colleges in line with the standards in secular colleges at the time.

¹³⁹ Mahoney argues that this was on purpose. "Notes from the meeting of the Committee for the Revision of the 1910 Schedule," 17 May 1921, MPA, Box 97, Folder 4, GUA.

¹⁴⁰ Mahoney, *Jesuits and Harvard*, 236-40.

¹⁴¹ "Revised Program of Studies, 1923," GUA.

¹⁴² Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, p. 33.

In addition to aligning Jesuit colleges more closely with their secular peers, the 1923 schedule finally brought Jesuit colleges together in terms of curriculum. Since the new schedule drastically increased the amount of elective study, it proved easier for the colleges to provide for the smaller number of prescribed courses. The authors of the schedule recognized that some of the new additions might prove difficult to implement immediately and made allowances for that to encourage the colleges to move forward with the new schedule. When it came to introducing majors, for example, it helpfully informed college administrators that, “any student is at liberty to call Philosophy his major subject” until the resources to offer other majors become available.¹⁴³ In making practical suggestions for adaptation, the authors of the schedule had reversed course from their past counterparts. Instead of relying on more prescription to solve problems, they acknowledged the complexity involved in applying their suggestions and offered solutions to help ease implementation. Ironically, in moving away from the highly prescriptive mode of the past schedules, the 1923 schedule was finally able to achieve what the past committees had sought: curricular unity.

The entire schedule followed this adaptive approach and in doing so allowed the 1923 schedule to become the first truly province-wide curriculum for the Maryland-New York Jesuits; it was immediately adopted in its entirety by all of the Province’s colleges for the 1923-24 academic year. The course of studies for individual students was actually less unified since the introduction of majors allowed more choice than previously available. However, on a broader scale all of the Province’s colleges now operated on the same curricular footing. And although the new schedule represented a significant step away from the traditional interpretation of the *Ratio Studiorum*, it restored a level of curricular unity to the Province that the *Ratio* had been designed to provide.

¹⁴³ “Revised Program of Studies, 1923,” GUA.

5. Unity in Disunity

Even though the Maryland-New York Jesuits sacrificed curricular unity on the individual level in 1923, they finally achieved the provincial unity they had long strived for. They wanted to ensure that a student at Fordham University received the same quality education as a student at Holy Cross or Georgetown. While quality is a nebulous word in education, at the very least they sought to ensure that students at these schools encountered the same curriculum. A number of province-wide committees, convened between 1885 and 1923, attempted to achieve this level of consistency by imposing various schedules on the province. These schedules did not prove entirely successful, often because they were overly prescriptive. It was not until 1923 that the province managed to unify all of the colleges' curricula, largely because it reduced the amount of prescribed material that it required be taught. In this way, the province finally achieved the unity it sought by making the curriculum, at least on the level of the individual student, less unified.

Chapter 4: The Province as Unifier

“Of course the interests of the Province at large must take precedence over those of any individual house or college.”

- An unnamed Jesuit
Loyola College, Baltimore, 1919¹⁴⁴

1. Interdependence

When it came to the daily operation of the Maryland-New York Province in 1879, there were enough moving parts to give any administrator a headache. Nine different colleges, plus a dozen other parishes and institutions, spread across six different states certainly provided plenty of challenges to keep the provincial busy. This chapter will examine the role the province played in coordinating that system. We have already seen the role the provincial structure played in unifying the curriculum; in addition to curricular considerations, the province played an equally important role in the organizational operation of the colleges. As our Jesuit noted above, the Jesuits conceived of their educational priorities in terms of provincial needs.¹⁴⁵ These priorities, in turn, dictated the operation of the individual colleges. I will call this way of thinking *conceptual interdependence*, since it was grounded in the belief that the individual colleges were only part of a larger, provincial whole. Throughout the period in question, Jesuits deployed a language of interdependence, often under the guise of “the interests of the Province,” to argue for a variety of positions. These conceptions did not always align with the operational reality of the colleges, but nevertheless relied on shared cultural understandings of interdependence within the Maryland-New York Province.

¹⁴⁴ Unamned Jesuit (Loyola) to Socius, 27 April 1919, Maryland Province Archives (hereafter MPA), Box 97, Folder 2, Georgetown University Archives (hereafter GUA).

¹⁴⁵ Philip Gleason also observed this phenomenon in his “The First Century of Jesuit Higher Education in America,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 24 (2007), 37-52.

But the result of that conceptual interdependence was a provincial system that was *functionally interdependent* as well. The functional interdependence of the colleges was most clearly expressed through the centralized system of faculty assignment, but was present in a number of other areas as well. Decisions to close a school in one city, for example, could have an impact on enrollment at another school. Much of the functional interdependence between the Jesuit colleges of the province stemmed from the administrative reality of the Society of Jesus: the province was the key administrative unit for the Society.¹⁴⁶ When a man joined the Jesuits, he entered a specific province and remained with that province during his entire time with the Jesuits. Even a Jesuit stationed in Rome would still have his name reported in the catalogue of his home province and would still be answerable to his provincial at home.

The centrality of the province in Jesuit life had a major implication for the operation of the province's colleges: the centralization of staffing at the provincial level. The provincial retained the final authority to assign Jesuits to different colleges based on what he believed the needs of the province were at the moment. This meant that the entire province served as the manpower pool for each college, which in turn meant that staffing decisions at one college impacted every other college. Reassignment occurred frequently and was a constant consideration at every college.

This system of transferring Jesuit faculty, as well as other forms of provincial loyalty, played a major role in engendering a cultural understanding of interdependence. Jesuits were socialized to think of the province as the seat of their projects and so the language they used to talk about their colleges tended to be provincial rather than institutional. Conceptual interdependence also meant that Jesuits often concerned themselves with how the reputation of one Jesuit college influenced the reputation of all of their colleges. Even when institutional

¹⁴⁶ Gleason, "The First Century of Jesuit Education," 48.

considerations might outweigh provincial ones, conceptual interdependence gave Jesuits the language to frame those institutional considerations in provincial terms. In this way, conceptual and functional interdependence were mutually reinforcing and help to explain the systematic and systemic operation of the Maryland-New York Province's colleges.

To gain a fuller understanding of how interdependence influenced the operation and development of the colleges within the province, I will explore three challenges the province faced during this period. Starting with the smallest, I will examine a moment in 1919 when the provincial leadership considered closing some of the smaller collegiate divisions in order to free up more faculty for other schools. From there, I will move to a larger debate about the size and staffing of colleges and their relationship to one another. Finally, I will examine the system of personnel transfer between schools that stands as perhaps the clearest example of the interdependent nature of the system.

2. The 1919 Consultation

Both the functional and conceptual interdependence of the province's colleges can best be illustrated by a *consultation* that took place in April 1919. A consultation is a formal mechanism by which a Jesuit superior solicits input from his community, in this case the entire Maryland-New York Province. On 23 April 1919, the Socius of the Maryland-New York Province, perhaps best described as the provincial's executive secretary, wrote to the rectors of the province's colleges and a number of other prominent Jesuit educators. He wanted to know their opinion on closing the collegiate division (while keeping the high schools open) of a number of the smaller schools that the province operated, namely Loyola in Baltimore, St.

Joseph's in Philadelphia, St. Peter's in Jersey City, and Brooklyn College in New York City.¹⁴⁷

These colleges all had a low number of students, fewer than 100, and had shown little signs of growth over the last few years. Additionally, both Brooklyn and St. Peters were close to Fordham in New York City.

This consultation was prompted by a concern that the maintenance of these colleges was taking away valuable resources, mainly faculty, from other colleges. This was a period when several of the Province's colleges, namely Holy Cross and Fordham, were rapidly expanding and required additional staff.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the federal government, state education systems, and regional accrediting agencies were putting pressure on colleges to adopt new standards. Meeting these standards required more and better trained faculty, which put further pressure on the manpower within the Province. As such, the fate of these individual colleges was fundamentally a provincial matter.

The process of consultation also demonstrates the cultural implications of interdependence. Jesuits across the province found their opinions solicited – a clear indication of the foundational nature of the province. The closings were part of the provincial system, so it was only appropriate that the province be consulted on the matter. Both the conceptual and the functional aspects of interdependence are clearly visible in the responses to the Socius' letter.

The respondents were evenly split on the issue of closing the colleges at St. Joseph's and Loyola, while the vast majority favored closing St. Peter's and Brooklyn colleges. Their responses reveal an array of concerns, ranging from each school's debt to enrollment figures to

¹⁴⁷ The Jesuits used the official name for the school and the name of the city in which it was located interchangeably when discussing it. For clarity's sake, I will use the official name when not quoting. P.W. Lyons to Provincial, 25 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹⁴⁸ Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name: History of Holy Cross* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999); Raymond A. Schroth, *Fordham: A History and Memoir* (Chicago: Jesuit Way, 2002).

the reputation of the high schools without a college attached. This was the decade when the Jesuits were beginning to consider separating their high schools and colleges and so the implications of such a move were still not entirely understood. In some cases these concerns were very specific, such as possible complications to a large donation Loyola recently received, but for the most part they reflected the broader attitudes of the respondents to the provincial educational project as a whole. These attitudes were often couched in the rhetoric of “interests of the Province at large,” which Jesuits on both sides of the issue used to justify their position.¹⁴⁹ That men on both sides could comfortably use the same rhetoric shows that the interests of the province were up to interpretation. But more importantly, it shows that the conception of the province’s colleges as an interdependent system was firmly entrenched in the culture of the Maryland-New York Jesuits.

Jesuits arguing in favor of closing some or all of the colleges in question often highlighted the functional aspects of interdependence. Edward Tivnan, S.J., president of Fordham from 1919-24, focused on the lack of Jesuit teachers when he argued that, “If we withdraw these men and build up our strength elsewhere, we shall secure much better results...it seems to me to be the part of folly to try to carry on our present work with our forces dissipated as they are at present.”¹⁵⁰ The president of Holy Cross, James Carlin, S.J. (pres. 1918-24), similarly argued that “it [is] a useless dissipation of energy and a waste of men to continue colleges that...after years of existence have but a handful of students.”¹⁵¹ In both cases, these men emphasized the manpower needs of the province as a whole; since the colleges in question served fewer students, they were draining men away from larger colleges where they could be put to good use. This argument relies on the interdependence produced by the provincial staffing

¹⁴⁹ Unnamed Jesuit (Loyola) to Socius, 27 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹⁵⁰ Edward Tivnan to Provincial, 26 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹⁵¹ James Carlin to Provincial, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

system. Since there were only so many men to go around, it did not make sense wasting them on the smaller colleges.

Along a related line, other Jesuits further argued that deploying resources to these colleges was ill-advised because they had “little prospect of growth as colleges.”¹⁵² Whereas colleges like Holy Cross and Fordham had grown by at least 200 students each between 1912 and 1919, all the colleges in question still had fewer than 100 students and had not seen any significant growth in the same period. In fact, Brooklyn actually enrolled fewer college students in 1919 than in 1912.¹⁵³ Because of this, Jesuits like Carlin argued that it made more sense to deploy their men at the colleges that were growing than where there was “*no immediate prospect*, as far as one can see, of increasing appreciably in numbers.”¹⁵⁴ By arguing that the Province should send Jesuits where they could reach the most students, Carlin leveraged a sense of efficiency in the province’s ministry to advocate closing some colleges.

Even some Jesuits at the schools at risk of being closed took up this argument. J. M. Connell, S.J., a Jesuit stationed at St. Joseph’s, summed it up well:

The whole point, then, seems to be this. First, - for the past 25 years we have not had a college large enough to justify devoting to it a faculty that would be more A.M.D.G. [*ad maiorem dei gloriam*] elsewhere. - Secondly - there is no earthly reason for assuming that the next 20 years will be any better than the last 20.¹⁵⁵

Here, Connell deploys the motto of the Society of Jesus, *ad maiorem dei gloriam*, which translates *for the greater glory of God*, as a tool to support the argument about resource allocation. He equates A.M.D.G. with efficiency, arguing, just as Carlin did, that the Society can do more good by putting its men where they can reach more students. That he used the motto to

¹⁵² Michael Ahearn to Socius, 25 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹⁵³ “Students in our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1 1912,” *Woodstock Letters* 41 (1912); “Students in our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1 1919,” *Woodstock Letters* 48 (1919).

¹⁵⁴ Carlin to Provincial, 24 April 1919, GUA. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵⁵ J.M. Connell to Provincial, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

do this speaks to his immersion in Jesuit culture, but it also adds substantial rhetorical weight to his argument by framing it in the foundational language of the Society. In this way, he is appealing to *both* functional and conceptual interdependence when making his argument. His views on staffing rely on a functional understanding, while his use of A.M.D.G. appeals directly to a cultural understanding of the interdependence of all of the province's enterprises.

The fact that a Jesuit was advocating for the closure of the college at which he served further demonstrates the sense of *provincial* identity that was so crucial to conceptual interdependence. Connell was not the only example of this type of behavior. An Jesuit at Loyola also expressed similar sentiments in his reply.¹⁵⁶ In both cases, these Jesuits made it clear that they believed the interests of the province to be more important than those of their particular college. This view reveals a deep-seated *provincial* culture within the Society that encouraged provincial attachment above institutional. This culture encouraged Jesuits to conceive of their work in terms of the broader system, a conception which these two Jesuits clearly expressed in their letters.

In contrast to their opponents, Jesuits arguing to keep the colleges in question open focused more on the reputation of the Society, while still using the same language of 'the interests of the province.' One Jesuit, writing from Brooklyn, goes so far as to title a section of his letter to the provincial, "In the interest of the Society." In that section he states that the Jesuits' reputation as teachers rests on their college work and to abandon that work, even in only a few places, would mean that their "influence as teachers would be entirely lost."¹⁵⁷ Laurence Kelly, S.J., a Jesuit stationed at the scholasticate in New York, argued along similar lines that withdrawing from any schools would destroy the Jesuits' reputation as educators and weaken

¹⁵⁶ Unnamed Jesuit (Loyola) to Socius, 27 April 1919, GUA.

¹⁵⁷ Unnamed Jesuit (Brooklyn) to Provincial, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

them, “at the time when the enemies of the Church...are making an open attack on our schools and colleges.”¹⁵⁸ In both cases, these men were concerned with the effect of an action at one school on the reputation of the Jesuits throughout the province. In focusing on reputation instead of manpower, their language appeals to a conceptual understanding of interconnectedness.

Other respondents used more specific province-wide arguments to advocate against closing certain colleges. Anthony Maas, S.J. (prov. 1912-18), a former provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, expressed concern that some of the closings could jeopardize the position of the province should the northern part be separated from the southern. Furthermore, he noted “an impression on the part of some Fathers that the development of the southern part of the Province is hampered by the rapid development of the North; this feeling would become acute by the suppression of the southern College Departments.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, Maas argued, it was in the best interest of the province to keep St. Joseph’s and Loyola open as colleges. Maas’ comments reveal that at least some Jesuits believed that development in one part of the province came at the cost of development in another.

3. “They are walking over one another”: Big Colleges versus Small

Traces of a broader debate within the province are present in the April 1919 responses. A number of respondents used the language of “larger colleges” to contrast the colleges that should remain open with the smaller colleges that were under consideration for closure.¹⁶⁰ While this language does reflect simple differences in enrollment figures, it also addresses a more fundamental difference in educational approaches. A group of Jesuits, primarily those stationed at the more established colleges in the province such as Georgetown, Fordham, and Holy Cross,

¹⁵⁸ Laurence Kelly to Provincial, 25 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹⁵⁹ Anthony Maas to Provincial, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

¹⁶⁰ W. Coleman Nevils to Provincial, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

wanted to concentrate the resources of the province at those schools. These men believed that spreading the Jesuits of the province across too many small schools meant “that no college [would] be left in a self-respecting state,” especially when it came to the quality of the scientific facilities.¹⁶¹

These men envisioned the province’s schools as a truly interdependent system. They saw the role of the smaller schools as feeders for the larger colleges in the province. Rather than waste resources on colleges that would never, in their view, operate at a high quality, they advocated closing the smaller colleges, while keeping them open as high schools.¹⁶² Doing this would allow those remaining colleges to “secure much better results,” since at the former small colleges the focus could be on making “them splendid High Schools, [that] would feed Fordham...and...Georgetown,” as well as Holy Cross.¹⁶³ In this way, they were stepping away from the traditional Jesuit idea that a student would complete their secondary and collegiate education at the same institution.

This new, more cohesive system was necessary, they believed, because a number of outside organizations were putting pressure on the Jesuit colleges to adopt new standards. As Michael Ahearn, S.J. explained in his letter, the U.S. Bureau of Education had published a number of suggestions in 1918 for what should constitute a proper college. The Bureau suggested that colleges have at least eleven academic departments, each with at least one full-time faculty member, at least fifteen total faculty members, and that any preparatory departments be completely distinct from their collegiate counterparts.¹⁶⁴ Although these were framed as suggestions only, they were clearly representative of best practices in higher education. For the

¹⁶¹ Connell to Provincial, 24 April 1919, GUA.

¹⁶² Ahearn to Socius, 25 April 1919, GUA.

¹⁶³ Tivnan to Provincial, 26 April 1919, GUA; Ahearn to Socius, 25 April 1919, GUA.

¹⁶⁴ Ahearn to Socius, 25 April 1919, GUA.

largest Jesuit colleges, these standards were proving difficult to reach; for the smaller schools, they were nearly impossible. The advocates for the “larger colleges” believed the only way to meet these standards, and to prevent Jesuit colleges from being marginalized, was to concentrate their resources in a small number of large colleges like Fordham, Holy Cross, and Georgetown.

The Jesuits on the other side of debate advocated a more traditional pattern of Jesuit education. Like their opponents, they focused on issues of staffing, but they argued that the large colleges were *overstaffed*. They held that the traditional, unified model of Jesuit education produced better results, even if the number of students at some institutions was smaller than at others. For them, the smaller colleges were not a drain on resources. Rather, it was the larger colleges that were unnecessarily taking men away from institutions in need. Unsurprisingly, the Jesuits who advocated this position largely came from the smaller colleges in risk of closure, especially Loyola College in Baltimore.

A Jesuit at Loyola presented this argument well. In his letter to the provincial, he wrote, “I have no first-hand evidence myself, but it has been said repeatedly, and by very conscientious men, that there are more teachers attached to certain colleges than appears necessary. The phrase used is that ‘they are walking over one another.’”¹⁶⁵ He almost certainly means Georgetown, Fordham, and Holy Cross, all of which had significantly larger Jesuit communities than Loyola at this time.¹⁶⁶ This discrepancy had obviously engendered a certain amount of animosity at Loyola, for another Loyola priest wrote to the provincial that, “...we are not extravagant in our demand for men, because the teachers we have and the scholastics we have are willing to work and work extra, and make every personal sacrifice, to keep Loyola growing as a College.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Unnamed Jesuit (Loyola) to Socius, 27 April 1919, GUA.

¹⁶⁶ Data from *Province Catalogue of Maryland-New York Province*, 1879-1926.

¹⁶⁷ Joseph McEneaney to Provincial, 25 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

This comment represents a subtle jab at those colleges that were constantly clamoring for extra staff.

While these responses offer only a glimpse into what was a larger debate in the Society during this time, the debate itself reveals that there existed competing conceptions about the appropriate level of interconnectedness among the colleges of the province. The supporters of the small colleges wanted each college to operate as independently as possible, with students completing their entire education at a single school. The accepted interconnectedness as it related to staffing the colleges, but their complaints about the larger colleges made it clear they felt the smaller colleges were being hindered by it. The supporters of the larger colleges recognized a similar problem with interconnectedness, although they viewed the smaller college as the troublesome ones. However, they wanted a system that was interdependent, not just when it came to faculty, but for students too. By suggesting that students move from a number of smaller high schools to a single, large college, they envisioned a provincial system that took advantage of its large number of schools. This would allow the province to concentrate its resources at a few colleges, while taking advantage of the provincial system to continue reaching a large number of students.

In 1919, neither the large college nor the small college advocates won a complete victory. While St. Peter's and Brooklyn colleges were both closed, with some of their students transferred to Fordham, their high schools remained open and both St. Joseph's and Loyola remained open as colleges.¹⁶⁸ The interconnectedness of the provincial system played a large role in this decision. It made little sense to operate two colleges right across the river from Fordham, especially when the short distance made it relatively easy to transfer students. However,

¹⁶⁸ "Students in our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1 1919," *Woodstock Letters* 48 (1919); "Students in our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1 1921," *Woodstock Letters* 50 (1921).

Philadelphia and Baltimore were too far away from Georgetown to easily transfer students there, so it was in the broader interests of the province to maintain colleges there.

4. Moving Men

The debate over closing the colleges in 1919 and the larger debate in the province between the supporters of big and small schools stemmed from a foundational reality of Jesuit life: mobility. As we have seen, the Jesuits committed themselves to being able to move at a moment's notice in service of the Church.¹⁶⁹ Unlike monastic religious orders, whose members take a vow of stability and live their lives within a single community, Jesuits were free and indeed encouraged to move around to meet the needs of the Society. In the sixteenth century, this could mean traveling to China or Latin America. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it still meant that for a small number of American Jesuits, but for the most part they lived out this commitment to mobility closer to home.¹⁷⁰ In the case of the colleges, that meant being willing to move between different schools as the 'needs of the province' demanded. Gleason calls this practice "faculty rotation." I disagree with this term for two of reasons: it was not limited to faculty (the lay brothers, who did not teach, were regularly transferred) and rotation implies some type of pattern to the movement (of which I will argue there was very little). Rather, I prefer the term personnel transfer, as it better describes the reality of the process during this period. However, given the extremely limited role of lay brothers in teacher during this period, I will focus on faculty transfer to the purposes of this chapter.

¹⁶⁹ George Ganss, trans., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, MO: Institute for Jesuit Sources, 1970), 267.

¹⁷⁰ Less than 0.02% of American Jesuits served in foreign missions in 1925. In contrast, a full third were involved in teaching in some way and another third in preparation for teaching. William McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, especially in Secondary Education in the United States* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 219.

No other aspect is more indicative of the Society's conception of the *province* as the basic organizational unit for their educational endeavors than this system of personnel assignment. This is in no way unusual for the Jesuits; the province acted as the basic organizing principle for all of their activities, of which education was only one. However, when it came to the province's schools, it produced a system that valued provincial needs over the needs of individual colleges. Since the provincial bore responsibility for staffing all of the schools, he and the other provincial leaders were required to think beyond any one school. This in turn encouraged individual Jesuits to think beyond the school at which they were teaching at any particular moment, since the odds were high that they had just come or were about to leave for another school. In this way, the constant movement of Jesuits throughout the province did more than functionally connect the colleges. It also helped produce a sense of provincial identity key to conceptual interdependence.

4.1 Those to Be Sent

Conversations about personnel movement usually began in late spring and early summer, as the school year wound down. Every college president would send the provincial a list of the men in residence at his school, called the *status*. The provincial, together with his staff and in consultation with the presidents, would draft lists of *mittendi* (those to be sent) indicating who was to be transferred and to where. These would then be sent back to the presidents, who would have the chance to comment on them before transfers occurred in the beginning of August.¹⁷¹ This allowed the *mittendi* enough time to settle in before the school year began. Each year an average of five to ten Jesuits would be slated for transfer from each school. As this could be up

¹⁷¹ "List of Jesuits in Residence at GU (1895)," J. Havens Richards, S.J. Papers (hereafter JHR), Box 2, Folder 10, GUA.

to a third of the faculty at any given college, this represented a not insubstantial changeover in staff every year. The list of *mittendi* for Georgetown in 1895 is indicative of a standard year. One Jesuit each was sent to Boston College, St. Joseph College, and the Missouri Province to teach, one was sent to be the superior of St. Francis Xavier in New York, and two were sent to Woodstock to continue their theological studies.¹⁷² At this time, twenty-seven Jesuits taught at Georgetown, so the *mittendi* represented almost a quarter of the total faculty for that year.

Even from this briefest of sketches, a number of characteristics quickly become clear. First, the system of personnel transfer was a regular practice for the Jesuits. Whereas today high faculty turnover is a sign of an institution in crisis, it represented standard practice for the Society at the time. It occurred using the same process and at the same time every year. Turnover was expected and did not cause unexpected difficulties in the administration of the schools (although it of course caused some difficulties). Hand in hand with its regularity was its centralization. The ultimate decision on who was to be sent to which school rested with the provincial rather than with the individual college presidents. Although he consulted with the presidents as a matter of course, the final decision was always his to make.¹⁷³ This fit within the broader patterns of the Society, with the provincial retaining final control over personnel management in almost every moment. It was in terms of provincial needs, not the needs of individual colleges, that the provincial superiors allocated resources.¹⁷⁴ In this case, that resource was manpower.

Third, personnel transferred frequently. While annual shifts might not seem frequent by modern measure, they represent about the fastest an educational institution can cycle through

¹⁷² “List of Jesuits in Residence at GU (1895),” GUA.

¹⁷³ J. Havens Richards to Provincial, 30 July 1893, JHR, Box 7, Folder 2, GUA; “List of Jesuits in Residence at GU (1895),” GUA.

¹⁷⁴ Gleason, “The First Century of Jesuit Education,” 48.

faculty without impacting teaching. It was not unusual for a faculty member to be transferred two of three times in as many years. Finally, this high frequency created a system that could easily respond to the changing needs of the province. As shown by the range of assignments the Georgetown *mittendi* were bound for, the process allowed the provincial to evaluate needs annually and provided for a mechanism to quickly respond to them. As various Jesuits returned to Woodstock to complete their training or moved into leadership positions, others could be moved in to fill their place. Thus, the province operated a regular, centralized system of personnel transfer that could respond to changing needs with comparative frequency.

Faculty and staff were not the only Jesuits subject to this system of regular transfer; college presidents were also frequently replaced. The system for replacing the presidents operated at a higher level than normal faculty and under stricter guidelines. According to the *Constitutions*, the governing documents of the Society, the superior general held the task of selecting the heads of colleges.¹⁷⁵ As the provincial did with the college presidents about faculty assignments, he solicited suggestions from the provincial about candidates. These suggestions took the form of a formal letter, called a *terna* because the provincial was required to suggest three different candidates. From these three names, the superior general usually selected the next president (although he could make another choice if he wished). In addition to being centralized at a higher level, presidential rotation operated, at least in theory, on a more regular basis.¹⁷⁶ While faculty members could spend a single year or over two decades at a given college, presidents, in their capacity as rectors, were limited to a term of three years.¹⁷⁷ This term could be extended an additional three years, and often was, but then another Jesuit would be appointed to take his place. In practice, however, presidential tenure proved as variable as it was for

¹⁷⁵ Ganss, *The Constitutions*, 225.

¹⁷⁶ Given the theoretical regularity, I use *rotation* for presidents.

¹⁷⁷ Ganss, *The Constitutions*, 316.

faculty. Between them, Holy Cross, Fordham, and Georgetown had thirty-two presidents between 1879 and 1926. Of these, over two-thirds did not finish their full six-year term, while four of them served longer than six years.¹⁷⁸ As with all organizations, there proved to be a sizeable difference between ideals and reality.

4.2 Staffing Trends, 1879-1926

The Maryland-New York Jesuits produced a significant amount of documentation, which allows us to get a sense of what that reality was like. Each year, every college published a catalogue, which included a list of the faculty present that year. In addition, the province annually published its own catalogue that accounted for every Jesuit stationed in the province. Between these two sets of documents, it is possible to trace the path of every Jesuit who taught in the province between 1879 and 1926. This task, while it would provide interesting data, is far beyond the scope of this particular thesis. However, a smaller sample of the whole province will provide some insight into broader patterns; in this case, the transfer of faculty between Holy Cross, Georgetown, and Fordham.¹⁷⁹ In looking at this data, several trends emerge.

The first characteristic has already been briefly mentioned: the high rate of faculty transfer. Many faculty members spent only a single year at a school and most did not teach at any one school for more than four years at a time. At Georgetown, in the first decade of the twentieth century, more than half of the faculty stayed less than two years.¹⁸⁰ Part of this was the product of the Jesuit training regime. Following their initial studies, Jesuit scholastics were sent

¹⁷⁸ The shortest served for less than two, the longest for a decade.

¹⁷⁹ These generalizations and all those that follow come from data gathered from faculty lists in the Georgetown College Catalogues (1879-1926), the Fordham College Catalogues (1879-1914), and the Holy Cross Catalogues (1879-1926). Heretofore referred to as “Faculty Transfer Data.”

¹⁸⁰ Robert E. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: The Quest for Excellence, 1889-1964* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP, 2010), 48.

to complete their *regency*, which often meant teaching for a three to five years in a Jesuit school, before returning to complete their studies.¹⁸¹ This practice meant that scholastics, who made up a significant portion of the teaching staff, functioned as a matter of course as temporary faculty. Personality difficulties, specific subject needs at certain schools, and death also accounted for some of that frequency.¹⁸²

However, a significant minority of faculty members taught for long stretches at one school. While accounting for less than one percent of all faculty members, many of these Jesuits taught for over a decade at one school. John Conway, S.J. taught ethics, psychology, and served as the prefect of studies at Georgetown for twenty years between 1896 and 1916. Louis Jouin, S.J. also served for two decades, teaching ethics and philosophy in the 1880s and 1890s at Fordham. The longest serving Jesuit at any one school was Henry Schandelle, S.J., who taught at Georgetown for twenty-eight years (although with some breaks) from 1883 to 1925. The presence of these largely stationary faculty members suggests that transferring was not a required aspect of provincial system. However, their rarity speaks the near ubiquity of the practice.

What is more, almost none of those faculty members who spent large amounts of time at one school taught exclusively at that school. Shandelle, for example, spent three years teaching at Holy Cross. Even Edward Devitt, S.J., who served as Georgetown's prefect of studies for three years and as a teacher there for twenty-six, spent a year working at Holy Cross. Serving at multiple schools was also common to those who spent very little time at any one school. Charles Mahan, S.J. taught at Holy Cross for one year and Fordham for two. Daniel Lynch, S.J. spent just one year each at these schools. Indeed, the majority of Jesuits who served at one of these schools spent at least one year at another. Given the incomplete nature of the data, it is likely many of

¹⁸¹ Ganss, *The Constitutions*, 205.

¹⁸² Richards to Provincial, 30 July 1893, GUA.

these men taught at a number of other colleges besides these three during their time in the Society. Thus, we can safely conclude that almost every Jesuit in the province taught at multiple schools.

Even among Holy Cross, Georgetown, and Fordham, a small group of faculty taught at all three schools. This group was slightly larger than the group of ‘stationary’ faculty. Again accounting for the incomplete nature of the data, we can assume that this represents the average amount of overlap between any three schools in the province. Some of these faculty, like Devitt, only taught for a single year at a particular school. Others, like James Kelley, S.J., spent a significant time at all three schools, teaching for four years at Fordham, Holy Cross, and Georgetown respectively, before returning to Holy Cross for three more years. His experience was perhaps most representative of those who taught at all three schools. A few Jesuits, however, spent a significant amount of time at each of these schools. John Fox, S.J. spent eight years at Georgetown, then seven years at Fordham, before finishing with a decade of service at Holy Cross.

Among college presidents, the trends largely reflected trends within the wider faculty pool, even though the system governing their transfer was slightly different. Over half of the presidents during this period served at only one of these three colleges. Slightly less than half served at two and only one, Samuel Cahill, S.J., president of Holy Cross from 1887-89, served at all three.¹⁸³ No president served as the head of more than one school, although Thomas Campbell, S.J. and Joseph Dinand, S.J. both served two nonconsecutive terms at the same school. Three presidents did go on to serve as provincial, suggesting that at least the most promising leaders were tracked for a number of leadership positions. One Jesuit, Joseph Hanselman, S.J., served consecutively as the president of Holy Cross, the provincial, and the

¹⁸³ Eighteen and twelve respectively.

rector of Woodstock, the Jesuit scholasticate in Maryland, for seventeen years. His case, however, was unusual. Overall, the lack of any distinct pattern of rotation between Holy Cross, Georgetown, and Fordham suggests that province did not treat the boarding colleges as separate class of schools for the purposes of staffing. Rather, given the data at hand, they seem to have been treated similarly to other schools in the province.

Given the limited scope of this data, it is difficult to make sweeping statements about the trends in staffing during this period. The above generalizations are so general because there are no clear patterns across the province. This perhaps offers the strongest support for the responsiveness of the system, as transfers seem to have been dictated by specific needs rather than an intentional pattern of rotation. Moreover, the absence of the other colleges in the province from this study makes it difficult to see if faculty followed a particular track over the course of their time with the Society. Did teachers begin at certain schools and then move to other schools as they gained seniority? Did men who did their regency at a certain school tend to end up teaching specific subjects later on? A fuller examination of all of the schools in the province is necessary to answer these questions.

4.3 Implications for the Province

Even though this data offers just a glimpse into the personnel transfer system of the province, several implications of the transfers system quickly become evident. The first, which has been mentioned previously, is the role it played in forging a provincial identity among the Maryland-New York Jesuits. Coupled with the practice of training new members in a few centralized institutions, regular transfer between schools ensured that the province maintained a cohesive identity separate and above the identity of individual schools. The mingling of long-

serving faculty members with recent arrivals also accounts for mix of parochial and cosmopolitan attitudes present at individual colleges. In addition to issues of identity, the transfer system also contributed to a broader lack of continuity in leadership at the colleges. With a theoretical limit of six years in office, and in reality many served for fewer years than that, the colleges rarely enjoyed the stability of vision that their secular peers often had.

By the far the most important role the transfer system played was fostering a sense of community on the provincial level. As the province grew over the course of four decades, the number of Jesuits tripled to over 1,200 by 1925.¹⁸⁴ While in the 1879 the province operated one novitiate and one scholasticate, meaning all incoming Jesuits trained together, by 1926 the province operated two of each.¹⁸⁵ This meant that the Jesuits could no longer rely on their training alone to imbue a sense provincial identity. The transfer system thus played a more important role as the province grew, as it had since the province was formed in 1879. This was of course not true across the board. Some Jesuits, particularly those who spent long periods teaching at one school, had a tendency to hold more parochial views. In particular, these Jesuits were more likely to privilege their school over others in provincial decision-making. This tendency was on full view in the 1919 Consultation.

A strong provincial identity also meant that members of the province tended to oppose attempts by particular schools to monopolize provincial resources. J. Havens Richards, S.J. complained of this endlessly to his mentor, Patrick Healy, S.J., who had run into similar problems during his tenure at Georgetown.¹⁸⁶ This attitude aided the provincial leadership in setting the agenda for the province, since a provincial identity buttressed their attempts to define

¹⁸⁴ McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education*, 219.

¹⁸⁵ "Statistics of Our Novitiates and Scholasticates in United States and Canada, October 1, 1922," *Woodstock Letters* 51 (1922).

¹⁸⁶ Patrick Healy to J. Havens Richards, 3 December 1897, JHR, Box 2, Folder 2, GUA.

provincial needs. Even if there was support, or at least not outright hostility to a particular project at an individual college, the transfer system made it difficult to carry out. Richards found this out to his chagrin in the 1880s when he was unable to hold onto the faculty he needed for his graduate courses because they were always being sent elsewhere.¹⁸⁷

Richard's trouble holding onto faculty speaks to a larger issue with the transfer system: a lack of continuity. Although frequent transfer was the norm for the province throughout this period, that did not prevent the system from influencing the development of institutional continuity. In 1925, for example, almost half of the faculty were teaching at Georgetown for the first time and only six had been teaching there for more than four years. For students, this meant that very few of their teachers stayed with them for the full four or eight years they were enrolled. From a leadership perspective, the changing of presidents every six years (or less) meant that long term planning was extremely difficult. Harvard had just two presidents between 1879 and 1926, while Yale had six, allowing the leadership ample time to chart a course for their institution. Georgetown and Holy Cross had ten, while Fordham had twelve in the same period. While the provincial helped set long term goals, he also turned over every six years, leaving the long term trajectory of every school in the hands of the province writ large.¹⁸⁸ The frequent changeover in leadership doubtless contributed to the Jesuit school's relatively lackluster development during this period when compared to their Protestant and secular peers.

5. Closer Together

In many ways, the challenges presented by the Jesuits' system of faculty rotation were a product of the Jesuits' own success. Other religious orders that operated fewer schools, such as

¹⁸⁷ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 11-14.

¹⁸⁸ Anyone who has watched a committee design anything can attest to the problems with this approach.

the Augustinians, did not have to worry about having to staff so many positions across so many institutions. Staffing the colleges was the essential element of the provincial system that tied all of the colleges together. The practice of transferring men between colleges as needs evolved allowed the province to respond to changes, but also made them more interdependent. If certain schools were to grow, others needed to shrink. This dynamic played out across the province in the debate over big versus small schools and in a more isolated fashion during the 1919 closing conversations. Moreover, this functional interdependence contributed to a culture of interdependence within the province. The Maryland-New York Jesuits conceived of their colleges as a cohesive system and used the language of connectedness to speak about them. The constructed nature of this language can be clearly seen in its malleability, as men arguing on different sides of the same issue used the same language of “the interests of the Province” to support their point of view. Thus, functional and conceptual interdependence come together to explain the systematic operation of the province.

The province proved to be highly effective at deploying to achieve provincial priorities. But in addition to being a collective force, it was also a system composed of individual institutions. As we have seen in the case of the 1919 closings, sometimes provincial interests outweighed the needs of a particular college. We will now turn to a deeper investigation of the individual identity of these schools within the larger system and the impact systematic concerns had on their individual development.

Chapter 5: So Many Rival Colleges

"Again, when we take into consideration the difficulties under which we labor in so many of our colleges because of a dearth of men and how much the teaching suffers, it seems hardly proper to supply teachers in places where they are not appreciated. If we withdraw these men and build up our strength elsewhere, we shall secure much better results."

- Edward Tivnan, S.J.

President, Fordham University, 1919-24¹⁸⁹

1. For the Want of a Plumber

In the fall of 1896, Georgetown faced a great crisis. J. Havens Richards, S.J., the president at the time, wrote to Thomas Campbell, S.J., the president of Fordham, begging for assistance. "My mind is restless," he writes, "We are just now in a terrible difficulty, from which I see no available means of escape except through your bounty." What great calamity could have befallen the college that would leave it utterly dependent on the good will of its sister in New York? Richards explains:

Some four years ago, Brother O'Sullivan put up a set of waterclosets [toilets], 16 in number, for our Senior students. For the last two or three years they have been giving great trouble; and at the present moment fourteen are utterly useless. Brother Gallagher, who has succeeded Brother O'Sullivan's office, though efficient in other regards, is no plumber, and after repeated trials has given up the attempt to master the art. We therefore have to depend on outside plumbers. We had called in one who was making preparations to undertake the work, when he suddenly delivered notice that the National Association of Master Plumbers in the United States had given orders to boycott the goods of the makers of our closets. Hence no regular plumber will touch the work. If we had Brother O'Sullivan, we could order the material ourselves, and repair the broken closets. Without him, I do not know what we can do. We should be obliged to tear out everything, and substitute closets of other makers, at an expense fully \$1000.00 and the work could not possibly be finished by the time the students return. You see what a hole we are in.¹⁹⁰

That same day, Richards also wrote to the provincial, asking for his assistance in reconciling the issue.¹⁹¹ Unfortunately, no response to either letter has survived and we may never know the fate of the senior students and their toilets.

¹⁸⁹ Edward Tivnan to Provincial, 26 April 1919, Maryland Province Archives (hereafter MPA), Box 97, Folder 2, Georgetown University Archives (hereafter GUA).

¹⁹⁰ J. Havens Richards to Thomas Campbell, 1 September 1896, J. Havens Richards Papers (hereafter JHR), Box 6, Folder 4, GUA

¹⁹¹ Richards to William Pardow, 1 September 1896, JHR, Box 6, Folder 4, GUA.

Perhaps no other incident so humorously illustrates the extent to which the Jesuit colleges within the province depended on one another. The rotation of Jesuit staff between colleges, in this case custodians rather than teachers, has been examined in the previous chapter. But this story also exemplifies some of the problematic aspects of that interdependence. When Richards desperately needed a particular staff member, he had to beg his provincial and fellow president to borrow Brother O’Sullivan because he had no direct power to recall him. This put the fate of the senior water closets at Georgetown in the hands of two men hundreds of miles away. In a very tangible way, at least for certain members of the senior class, the regular exchanging of staff that the province relied on produced some serious inconvenience. And while this particular example is perhaps a bit whimsical, the interdependence of the colleges in the Maryland-New York province had a very real impact on the development of the individual colleges.

Whereas the last chapter examined the ways in which interdependence drew the colleges closer together, I will examine now how it hindered the development of the colleges as individual institutions. Whether it be repairing toilets or opening new graduate programs, the fact that every college was subject to the “needs of the province” occasionally meant that the development of one institution found itself stymied because of the needs of another. In many respects, growth was a zero sum game for the province; resources devoted to one school had to come from another institution. The “big school vs. little school” debate from the last chapter is one such example of this. It is impossible to examine every example of this dynamic, so I will take two examples which are illustrative of larger trends.¹⁹²

¹⁹² The vast majority of the upper-level correspondence of the Society, that between provincials and the Father General, is housed in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome. Since many of the events detailed below involved such high-level consultation, much of the primary sources needed for this chapter have been unavailable to me. I have done my best to fill the gaps with secondary literature.

2. A Birthday, a Centennial, and an Unusual Offer

2.1. A Birthday and A Centennial

The year 1889 opened and closed with two important birthdays in the city of Washington. In late February, Georgetown University celebrated its centennial in grand style.¹⁹³ Across town, the Catholic University of America (CUA) opened its doors that fall. Over the course of the next century, these two schools would grow to positions of great influence in American, Catholic higher education. At this moment in the late 1880s, however, neither was assured of success. And, as is typical of institutions unsure of their future, each one viewed the other with suspicion. The Jesuits in particular worried about the effect that a major university, with the backing of the episcopal hierarchy and the papacy, would have on the development of Georgetown into a university in its own right.

In an honest appraisal of the interdependence of their system, the superiors both in the province and in Rome feared that competition with CUA could have a negative impact on the other colleges operated by the Society in the United States. In order to avoid this, they instructed Richards to avoid any public discord with CUA.¹⁹⁴ However, the situation involved more than bad feelings between two schools in Washington. Larger questions about resource allocation within the province quickly became entangled in the issue. The situation soon found itself tied up with other tensions within the province, which will be explored in more detail shortly. As such, the tension between Georgetown and CUA serves as an ideal case study to examine the influence of external forces on the Maryland-New York educational system.

¹⁹³ For an account of the centennial celebration, see John Gilmary Shea, *Memorial of the First Centenary of Georgetown College, D.C. comprising a History of Georgetown University by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. and an Account of the Centennial Celebration by a Member of the Faculty* (New York: P.F. Collier, 1891).

¹⁹⁴ Vincent J. Gorman, "Georgetown University: The Early Relationship with the Catholic University of America, 1884-1907," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 100 (1991): 17.

The impulse for a national, Catholic university grew out of a desire for a better-educated clergy in the United States. When the nation's bishops met at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866, they collectively expressed a desire for some type of national institution to educate their priests. This desire grew stronger in the twenty years between this meeting and the next in 1884, when it was also recognized that a Catholic university was necessary to prevent Catholics from pursuing higher studies at Protestant universities.¹⁹⁵ As such, a group of bishops, led by John Ireland of St. Paul (bish. 1884-1913), proposed creating a national seminary to provide graduate education for priests. The Council, not without opposition, accepted the proposal and formed a committee to organize what was then called the “principal seminary” for the United States.¹⁹⁶

The bishops intended that this new seminary be distinctly differed from previous Catholic institutions. It was to provide exclusively graduate education and was meant for the use of their secular clergy, those priests who were not members of religious orders like the Jesuits. All of the American bishops would jointly administer the seminary and it would not be run by a religious order, as many other Catholic colleges and seminaries were. Initial plans called only for the study of theology, canon law, and philosophy, but the eventual hope was that it would develop into a “perfect university of studies.”¹⁹⁷ This hope found expression in the new institution's name, The Catholic University of America. Once these decisions had been finalized, all that remained was to find a site for the university and appoint its first leader.

Both of these decisions proved to be more contentious than the original decision to found the university. After much debate, the committee responsible for the university's development decided on Washington D.C. Although Washington was not a particularly Catholic city, the

¹⁹⁵ John Tracy Ellis, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, D.C.: Murraray & Hiester, 1946), 89.

¹⁹⁶ Ellis, *The Formative Years*, 112.

¹⁹⁷ Ellis, *The Formative Years*, 112.

placement of CUA there would give the university a truly national feel. Moreover, the intellectual resources of the city, which Georgetown greatly benefited from, would be available to students and faculty. And, perhaps equally important, there was a large amount of land available for immediate sale at a reasonable price.¹⁹⁸ The same committee also appointed one of its own members, Bishop John Keane (1839-1913; bish. 1878-88) of Richmond, as the first rector of the university.¹⁹⁹ Keane was known for his liberal views and was a frequent ally with Bishop Ireland in the ongoing controversy about the character of the American church.²⁰⁰

Because of this, many of the more conservative bishops had doubts about his appointment. First among these were Bishop Bernard John McQuaid (1823-1909; bish. 1868-1909) of Rochester and the Archbishop of New York, Michael Corrigan (1839-1902; bish. 1885-1902).²⁰¹ Both men clashed fiercely with Ireland over whether American Catholics should assimilate into American culture, with Ireland arguing for and McQuaid and Corrigan against. This conflict, called the Americanist controversy, spilled over into questions about CUA and contributed to their opposition to Keane. However, both McQuaid and Corrigan also had a personal stake in the location of the university. McQuaid was heavily involved in the founding of both Seton Hall College in New Jersey and St. Bernard's Seminary in New York.²⁰² He viewed CUA as a threat to both of these institutions. Corrigan had hoped that the university would have been located in New York City; when it was not, he added his support to McQuaid's in opposing the new institution.

¹⁹⁸ Ellis, *The Formative Years*, 148.

¹⁹⁹ Since the university was administered as a clerical institution, its presidents were called rectors until the 1960s. Ellis, *The Formative Years*, 176.

²⁰⁰ For a full explanation of the Americanist controversy, see Gerald Fogerty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982).

²⁰¹ William Leahy, *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown UP, 1991), 10.

²⁰² Peter E. Hogan, "Americanism and the Catholic University of America," *The Catholic Historical Review* 33 (1947): 160.

The Maryland-New York Jesuits also found much to be unhappy about concerning the new university. Their primary concern was of competition, particularly with Georgetown once the Washington location was selected. They feared that papal support for CUA, granted in 1889, would concentrate Catholic resources there to the detriment of Georgetown. Moreover, they worried that any move to enhance Georgetown's faculties or facilities would be seen as competing with CUA and thus the pope.²⁰³ The provincial superiors also worried that if CUA expanded beyond its purely graduate focus, that the two schools would be competing for students as well. Keane, who shared a relatively warm relationship with Richards, did his best to allay these fears, but a number of incidents in the university's first two decades did little to reassure the Jesuits.

2.2. An Unusual Offer

An uneasy *détente* remained in effect until 1893. Up to that time, the Jesuit response to CUA was generally measured and positive. Some members of the order, particularly Salvatore Brandi, S.J., the editor of the Jesuit publication *Civiltà Cattolica*, and Rene Holaind, S.J., an advisor to Bishop Corrigan, publically disparaged the new university.²⁰⁴ However, Richard's friendship with Keane and some stern words of admonishment from the Superior General in Rome kept relations from deteriorating. Both Richards and Keane agreed to a policy of polite indifference and the different nature of their two institutions made this course all the easier to follow. Indifference became much more difficult in that year with the appointment of Monsignor Francesco Satolli (1839-1910) as Apostolic Delegate to the United States.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Robert E. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: The Quest for Excellence 1889-1964* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown UP, 2010), 14.

²⁰⁴ Gorman, "Georgetown University: The Early Relationship," 17.

²⁰⁵ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 14.

Satolli had first been sent by the pope in 1892 to broker a truce between the conservative and liberal parties in the episcopal hierarchy, who were then arguing over the nature of Catholic primary education.²⁰⁶ He proceeded to take up residence at CUA, where he befriended both Keane and Richards. That friendship came under incredible strain, when in March 1894, Satolli wrote two letters that would poison the relationship between CUA and Georgetown for decades to come. Writing to the deans of Georgetown's medical and law schools, Satolli informed them:

The opinion and the wish of the Holy Father is, that your Faculty should aggregate to the Catholic University through an amicable arrangement between the two parties. The General of the Society of Jesus had already given to the Holy Father his written consent to such a transfer. It is meant by His Holiness, that your Faculty should have with the Catholic University such business and academic relations, as it had enjoyed formerly with Georgetown...²⁰⁷

Satolli's suggestion that the law and medical schools should join CUA was not without precedent. Before the site of the university had been fixed, Keane had apparently offered to purchase Georgetown in its entirety from the Society. The president at the time, Doonan, refused, but the presence of two professional schools at Georgetown obviously remained a concern for some at CUA.²⁰⁸

Satolli's offer did not sit well with either dean. H. Lloyd McGruder, dean of the medical school, and Martin Morris, dean of the law school, both refused to consider a transfer. The executive officer of the law faculty, Prof. G.E. Hamilton went so far as to write, "To attempt a transfer, therefore, even though it be assented to by the Society of Jesus will not only prove abortive, but will tend to uselessly destroy an old and honored institution of learning..."²⁰⁹ Both noted the irregularity of having received the offer directly from Satolli and not through Richards,

²⁰⁶ Hogan, "Americanism," 162.

²⁰⁷ Msgr. Francesco Satolli to Deans of Georgetown Medical and Law School, 1 March 1894, Office of Provost, Box 5, Georgetown College (1894-1935), Catholic University Archives (hereafter CUA).

²⁰⁸ J. Havens Richards, "Notes on Early Relations of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., with the members of the Society of Jesus of the Maryland-New York Province," 3 July 1898, Other Colleges and Universities (hereafter OCU), Box 1, Folder 15, GUA.

²⁰⁹ G.E. Hamilton to Satolli, 6 March 1894, Office of Provost, Box 5, Georgetown College (1894-1935), CUA.

in whom the final power over the schools lay. Interestingly, they both expressed the strong reservations of the, mostly Protestant faculty, about being associated with “a sectarian university.”²¹⁰ McGruder predicted that his faculty, “almost to a man,” would refuse to join CUA.²¹¹

The leadership on both sides quickly disavowed any knowledge of Satolli’s actions. Bishop Keane, writing his memoirs after being forced out of the rectorship in 1896, claimed that Satolli had acted without his consent.²¹² Keane did his best to distance himself from the odium caused by the incident. Similarly, Richards claimed no foreknowledge of the situation. He wrote in his reflections that the first he knew of the plan was when the deans approached him with Satolli’s offer.²¹³ These attempts were largely unsuccessful at defusing the situation, for a tense relationship endured between the two schools for many years to come. This relationship further deteriorated in 1904 when CUA began admitting undergraduates as regular students, thus undercutting the distinction that its founders had intended.

Richards, and probably Keane as well, was not being entirely honest when he wrote his reflections on the affair. Contrary to what he wrote after the fact, he had been notified of the plan before the deans came to him. The Superior General had presented him with the offer and Richards had expressed a willingness to sell the two schools for about \$100,000, provided Georgetown got them back if CUA was disbanded.²¹⁴ Why would Richards, someone so committed to developing Georgetown into a university, be willing to part with the only two professional schools that the university possessed? One major reason lay in the substantial debts the college still needed to pay off – the proposed price of the two schools would conveniently

²¹⁰ Hamilton to Satolli, 6 Mar. 1894, CUA.

²¹¹ G. L. McGruder to Satolli, 12 Mar. 1894, Box 5, Georgetown College (1894-1935), CUA.

²¹² John Keane, “The Apostolic Delegate and Georgetown,” *Chronicles* (25 October 1896), Office of Rector, Box 2, Folder 76, CUA.

²¹³ Richards, “Notes on Early Relations,” GUA.

²¹⁴ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 14-16.

retire all of it. What's more, it would provide additional funds for Richards' own project: the development of Georgetown's graduate programs.

2.3. Development Delayed

Satolli's offer to transfer the medical and law schools from Georgetown brought an important issue within the province to the surface: where did the educational priorities of the Maryland-New York Jesuits lie? This was a question that the provincial superiors had been wrestling with since the mid-1870s. In 1874, the provincial and his councilors met at Georgetown and decided to dedicate the province's resources to making Georgetown a university.²¹⁵ Other colleges, such as Harvard, were making strides towards becoming major universities and the province did not wish to fall behind. Over the next few years, Patrick Healy, S.J. (1830-1910, pres. 1874-82), president of the college, worked on a number of fronts to develop Georgetown from a loose collection of schools into a unified and well-respected institution.

Although Healy made major changes to the undergraduate college during his tenure, it was the changes to professional education that would create problems for his successors. Prior to his arrival, both the medical and law schools were nominally associated with the college but the dean of the school remained its chief academic officer. In 1876, Healy forced the resignation of the entire medical faculty and made himself the new chief academic officer before rehiring the majority of the faculty.²¹⁶ Healy similarly expanded his control over the law school in the late 1870s.²¹⁷ These moves allowed him and the board of directors to exercise greater control over the academic standards of the schools and to direct their development more closely. By the end

²¹⁵ Robert E. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: From Academy to University 1789-1889* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown UP, 2010), 304-9.

²¹⁶ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 330.

²¹⁷ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1789-1889*, 339.

of Healy's presidency in 1882, Georgetown had become a true, multi-faculty university under the control of a single administration. It was the only school of its type in the province until Fordham opened its medical and law schools in 1905.

Richards, a protégé of Healy who had gone on to study chemistry at Harvard at his urging, continued the work that Healy had begun and pushed Georgetown further towards a university model. Whereas Healy had focused on the undergraduate and professional schools, Richards looked to develop formal graduate education at Georgetown. By this time, the possession of a quality graduate program was becoming the defining characteristic of top-tier universities and Richards wanted to see Georgetown join that group. Beginning with postgraduate courses in philosophy, literature, history, mathematics, physics, and chemistry in 1891, Richards expanded the program to include doctoral studies by 1896.²¹⁸ Although the quality of some of the courses was questionable, these attempts represented the first moves by the Maryland-New York Jesuits into formal graduate education.

In developing these programs, Richards attempted to leverage the provincial system to varying degrees of success. He heavily recruited students from other Jesuit colleges, especially those in New England and the Midwest. Georgetown even offered one scholarship to each college that it could award to one of its alumni to defray the cost of studying at Georgetown.²¹⁹ Richards had less success with faculty recruitment. Richards regularly wrote to the provincial asking to be sent better-qualified faculty. Of the twenty-two Jesuits at Georgetown when Richards began in 1889, he felt only five were qualified to teach above the undergraduate level.²²⁰ Not unsurprisingly, the provincial was less than sympathetic to Richards' pleas; he had

²¹⁸ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 12.

²¹⁹ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 12.

²²⁰ *Province Catalogue for the Maryland-New York Province*, 1889, GUA; Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 7.

other colleges to staff.²²¹ Richards then turned to the Superior General in the hopes that he would designate Georgetown as a center for advanced studies for the whole society. The General refused, citing the presence of CUA as a major factor, but did grant Richards permission to approach provincials individually to secure faculty.²²² Unfortunately for Richards, this permission did not translate into many long-term faculty appointments.

In spite of these difficulties, Richards' efforts bore some fruit for the graduate program, with almost sixty students enrolled across all disciplines at the beginning of the 1892-93 academic year. However, by 1895, the next year when data is available, that number had declined to just eighteen students. Enrollment would continue to hover between twenty and forty students for the next decade, but by 1906 it was down to just seven students. The following year no students enrolled in any graduate program. Regular and robust graduate programs at Georgetown would not return until the 1920s and only as the result of a larger realignment of provincial priorities that accompanied the curricular changes of that decade. Richards' successors did not hold the graduate programs in as high esteem as he had and subsequent provincials attempted to end graduate education on a number of occasions. They reasoned that the expense of the programs, as well as the odium they incited with CUA, was not worth whatever was to be gained by continuing them. Continued pressure from the leadership at CUA further contributed to these feelings. The end of graduate scholarships in 1905 only quickened the flight of graduate students from Georgetown.²²³

In many ways, the development of Georgetown into a multi-faculty university in the 1890s was in spite of the general feelings of the province. While the moves to more closely oversee the medical and law schools met with general approval, the tension with CUA prevented

²²¹ Campbell to Richards, 2 June 1893, JHR, Box 2, Folder 9, GUA; Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 7; "Our Colleges in the United States and Canada for 1878-79," *The Woodstock Letters* 8 (1879).

²²² Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 13.

²²³ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 55-6.

Richards from fully developing the graduate program during his tenure. Ultimately, it was the development of these programs that brought Georgetown into conflict with CUA, with CUA emerging as the victor by the early twentieth century. The Jesuit superiors, both in Rome and in the Maryland-New York province, were not willing to risk a head-to-head confrontation with the episcopal hierarchy for programs they did not fully support in the first place. Rather, they preferred to focus on the undergraduate program and to avoid any sense of competition with their neighbors across town. Thus, the developments made during the 1890s were a testament to Richards' force of will, for he was fighting his own superiors in addition to the leadership at CUA.

While most of these efforts were reversed or mitigated by his successors, they brought Georgetown to the forefront of the Jesuit educational enterprise, at least among outsiders. Georgetown had always been viewed as the preeminent Jesuit college in the United States, an assessment confirmed even by opponents of the Jesuits such as Eliot.²²⁴ The strides made by Richards during his presidency ensured that Georgetown maintained that image as it entered the twentieth century. The Jesuits themselves did not necessarily share this view, however. In fact, many felt that it was “a college masquerading as a university,” and that the province should not waste its resources there.²²⁵ There was indeed much truth to these kinds of accusations, especially after Richards' departure. What is more, these comments reveal a larger conflict within the province.

²²⁴ Although Eliot would only concede that Georgetown was the best of a poor lot. Charles Eliot to John Lehy, 24 October 1898, MPA, Box 96, Folder 6, GUA.

²²⁵ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 55.

3. *The Jesuit University*

3.1 New York or Maryland?

Since the formation of Maryland-New York Province in 1879, a battle raged for the soul of the new province. At various points it came to the fore or subsided, but it remained a potent undercurrent in the province until the creation of the New England and New York Provinces in 1926 and 1943 respectively. The question at the heart of this battle was where would the focus of the province be: in the south, around the traditional home of the Maryland province, or in the north, where millions of new Catholics immigrants had been arriving since the mid-nineteenth century? The passion this question aroused is easily illustrated by the story of the province's naming. When the decree announcing the merger arrived in 1879, it stated that the new name of the combined province was to be the New York Province. As it was customary to name provinces after the most important secular jurisdiction within them, and New York, with New York City, was by far the biggest in the new province, this decision made sense to the superiors in Rome. However, the Jesuits from the old Maryland Province immediately objected. They argued that the age of their province and its place as the "mother-province" of the other Jesuit establishments in the United States meant the new province should continue to be called Maryland. A compromise was eventually reached; the resulting hyphenate a symbol of the disagreement between the two regions.²²⁶

We saw evidence of this north-south division in the debates over the college closings in 1919. Anthony Maas, S.J., the former provincial, wrote of "an impression on the part of some Fathers that the development of the southern part of the Province is hampered by the rapid

²²⁶ Although, one will note, that Maryland comes before New York. The interesting part of this story is that there are little to no primary sources that make reference to it. It is a story, however, that is found in the majority of the secondary literature and is still a subject of conversation among Jesuits today (at least the ones from Maryland).

development of the North.”²²⁷ This feeling appears to have been particularly prominent at Loyola College in Baltimore, for a Jesuit stationed there peppered his letter to the provincial with jabs at his northern brethren.²²⁸ And these are just a few examples from Jesuits willing and able to put their feelings in writing. Based on their statements and other anecdotal evidence, this tension between the two regions in the province had not abated even forty years after unification.

The feelings of the “southern” Jesuits were not without merit. In many ways, the creation of a unified province had shifted focus away from Maryland and the District of Columbia and towards the northern cities. After 1889, part of that shift was due to the emergence of CUA as a force in Washington, but it was largely a demographic imperative. In the archdiocese of New York, the Catholic population doubled from 600,000 in 1850 to over 1.2 million in 1910.²²⁹ In Boston, there were over 1.3 million Catholics by 1907.²³⁰ Washington, D.C., in contrast, had less than 100,000 Catholics in that same year.²³¹ In terms of effective use of resources, the Jesuits could reach more Catholics in New York and New England than they could in Maryland. For example, the 33 Jesuits working at Fordham were teaching over 600 students in 1910. In contrast, the 27 Jesuits at Georgetown only had 259 students.²³² Long before the days when college admissions officers trumpeted small class size, the Jesuits in New York were reaching a far greater number of students than their counterparts at Georgetown.

Because of these demographics, it made sense for the provincial leadership to concentrate their resources in the northern cities where they could reach more students. In the language of the

²²⁷ Anthony Maas to Joseph Rockwell, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

²²⁸ Joseph to Rockwell, 25 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

²²⁹ Joseph Mahoney, “Archdiocese of New York,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1911).

²³⁰ Thomas Meehan, “Boston,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1907).

²³¹ Edward Devitt, “Washington, D.C.” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1912).

²³² That’s a student-to-faculty ratio of 18:1 in New York and 9:1 in Washington. Data from *Province Catalogue for the Maryland-New York Province*, 1919, GUA; “Our Colleges in the United States and Canada, October 10, 1919,” *The Woodstock Letters* 48 (1919).

Society, they could be “more A.M.D.G.” in the north.²³³ The foundation of new Jesuit institutions bears out this northward orientation. Of the new schools for lay students founded after 1879, all of them were located in the north. The province opened two high schools in New York City (Regis and Loyola), a college in Brooklyn (Brooklyn College), and assumed control of a college in Buffalo (Canisius) following a merger with the German Jesuit mission in the United States.²³⁴ Some of these schools would grow to rival Georgetown, in the size of their student body if not reputation.

Enrollment at Select Colleges, Maryland-New York Province, 1879-1926									
Data taken from <i>The Woodstock Letters</i>									
	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
“Northern Schools”									
Holy Cross	142	151	278	278	332	438	506	593	716
Fordham	207	230	356	217	258	509	602	830	1852
St. Francis Xavier	503	398	509	761	639	563	547	443	682
“Southern Schools”									
Georgetown	184	207	248	281	303	250	259	335	513
Loyola Baltimore	104	148	170	200	199	149	268	330	296
St. Joseph’s	---	---	120	168	300	277	345	490	480
No data available for St. Joseph’s before 1890.									

3.2. Fordham or Georgetown?

The tensions over resource allocation were perhaps nowhere higher than over the question of establishing *the* Jesuit university in the province. We have already seen how Richards spent much of the 1890s pushing to develop Georgetown into that university. Part of the reason for his urgency, in addition to the conflict with CUA, was the fact that Georgetown had competition in the north as well: St. John’s College at Fordham. There was considerable energy among the provincial leadership, as well as the Superiors General in Rome during this period, to establish a preeminent Jesuit university in the United States that would rank in the

²³³ Jesuit motto that means *for the greater glory of God*. Connell to Rockwell, 24 April 1919, MPA, Box 97, Folder 2, GUA.

²³⁴ Data taken from *The Woodstock Letters*, 1879-1926.

same tier as the Society's universities in Louvain and Rome.²³⁵ Richards and a significant minority in the Maryland-New York province believed that Georgetown, with its long history and location in the nation's capital, should be this university. The other major faction, which enjoyed the support of most of the provincials during this period as well as Father General Franz Wernz, S.J. (sup. 1906-14), sought to make Fordham, located in the intellectual and economic heart of American Catholicism, that university.

Both universities could make strong claims for why they should serve as *the* Jesuit university in the United States. Georgetown, as the oldest Catholic college in the country, had over a century of history behind it. It enjoyed a level of prestige in the wider educational community unknown to other Jesuit schools at the time. Located in the capital, it enjoyed connections with numerous government agencies and intellectual institutions, like the Smithsonian, that made their home in Washington, D.C.²³⁶ Additionally, Georgetown was already home to a relatively thriving medical and law schools by the 1890s. However, its proximity to CUA, as we have seen, made many provincial leaders nervous about developing it for fear that the episcopal hierarchy would view such moves as antagonistic. It did not help Georgetown's case that many Jesuits found Richards personally abrasive, to the point that the provincial wrote to him in 1894 laying out a number of complaints against him.²³⁷

Perhaps Fordham's greatest advantage was that it was not Georgetown. Located in New York City, it did not need to worry about competing with CUA. Its presidents were generally more likeable men than Richards and as such found less resistance in the province to their initiatives. New York City, home to the national publishing industry, was the center of intellectual life in the country for Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Fordham was well placed to

²³⁵ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 56.

²³⁶ The Medical School was a particularly pronounced beneficiary of these connections. Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 62-3.

²³⁷ William Pardow to Richards, 25 July 1894, JHR, Box 2, Folder 10, GUA.

capitalize on those resources. The city, being home to over a million Catholics and three other Jesuit institutions, could provide far more students than were locally available to Georgetown. Because of these advantages, the Superiors General and the provincial superiors generally favored developing Fordham over Georgetown.

Perhaps one of the most important catalysts for the development of Fordham was the building of a subway line. Prior to 1901, in order to reach Fordham one needed to take a train that was not part of the city's subway system. This train ran less frequently and was more expensive, meaning that commuting between Manhattan and Fordham was not convenient. In that year, the Third Avenue "El" connected Fordham to the wider city transportation system for the first time. This made commuting to the college much easier and opened it up to day students from throughout the city who otherwise would have been unable to commute there.²³⁸ This allowed Fordham to expand rapidly without having to invest in additional dormitories to house more boarding students; the number of day students doubled the year after the "El" reached Fordham.²³⁹

A number of major decisions, unrelated to subway construction, also shifted the advantage to Fordham in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The province decided to move its publishing operations to the city, transferring *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* from Woodstock in 1907 and founding *America* there in 1909.²⁴⁰ Fordham opened its own university press in 1907.²⁴¹ The province also moved to reduce competition between Jesuit schools within and around New York City. Of the three schools opened in the city between 1900 and 1920, two

²³⁸ Thomas Shelley, "Ubiquitously Useful: The Jesuit College of St. Francis Xavier, New York City, 1847–1912," *The Catholic Historical Review* 101 (2015): 471.

²³⁹ "Our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1, 1900," *The Woodstock Letters* 29 (1900); "Our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1, 1902," *The Woodstock Letters* 31 (1902).

²⁴⁰ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 56.

²⁴¹ Georgetown would not have a university press until 1964. Raymond Schroth, *Fordham: A History and Memoir* (Chicago: Jesuit Way, 2002), 110.

of them operated exclusively as high schools.²⁴² A third, Brooklyn College, briefly ran a collegiate course in the late 1910s, but these classes were transferred to Fordham in the 1920s.²⁴³ St. Francis Xavier, which had served Manhattan with a collegiate and preparatory division since 1847 had its collegiate division transferred to Fordham in 1913.²⁴⁴ St. Peter's College, across the Hudson from Manhattan, saw its collegiate courses sent to Fordham in 1918-19.²⁴⁵ Thus, by 1920 Fordham stood as the only Jesuit school offering collegiate education in New York City. This allowed the other schools in the city to act as feeders, providing qualified graduates who would go on to study at Fordham. Correspondingly, Fordham's undergraduate enrollment grew ten-fold during these decades.²⁴⁶ These moves represented a clear intention on the part of the provincial leadership to concentrate their collegiate resources at Fordham.

Those decades also saw the rapid proliferation of graduate and professional schools at Fordham: a medical school and law school (1905), a School of Social Studies (1911), a College of Pharmacy (1912), a graduate school (1916), and a summer school (1917).²⁴⁷ That these schools were opening at the same time graduate education was withering at Georgetown is indicative of the province's focus on Fordham. Equally as revealing of the province's priorities was the continuity of development across multiple presidencies. At Georgetown, Richards almost singlehandedly drove the development of the university ideal and when he left, development tapered off. In contrast, Fordham saw six different presidents between 1900 and 1920.²⁴⁸ Despite these changes in leadership, the school continued to develop along a consistent

²⁴² Loyola High School and Regis High School. Data from *The Woodstock Letters*, 1900-1920.

²⁴³ Brooklyn College, which did not have a collegiate division until the late 1910s despite the name. Data from *The Woodstock Letters*, 1900-1920.

²⁴⁴ Shelley, "Ubiquitously Useful," 463; Data from *The Woodstock Letters*, 1912-13.

²⁴⁵ Collegiate students would not return to St. Peter's until the 1930s. "Students in Our Colleges in the United States and Canada, October 10, 1918," *The Woodstock Letters* 47 (1918).

²⁴⁶ Data from *The Woodstock Letters*, 1900-1920.

²⁴⁷ Schroth, *Fordham*, 111.

²⁴⁸ Schroth, *Fordham*, 377-78.

trajectory. This type of continuity would only have been possible if expanding Fordham was a provincial goal; the example of Georgetown after Richards' departure shows what happened to these programs when it was not.

Fordham's professional schools grew rapidly in the first few decades of their existence. The law school began with fifteen students in its first year; by 1925 it had over 1,400 students (almost triple the number of students at Georgetown Law). Across the university in 1925, Fordham had almost 5,000 graduate and professional students – four times the number at Georgetown.²⁴⁹ This rapid expansion did not come without a price. Academic quality in many of these programs suffered as a result of the huge increase in enrollment; there simply were not enough faculty to teach the huge classes that were being enrolled. By the early 1930s, it had become clear that the value of Fordham's degrees were far below that of other Jesuit schools. Financing proved to be another issue for the university. Although the growth of Fordham's medical school quickly outpaced Georgetown's, the university closed it in 1921 due to lack of funds.²⁵⁰ The academic situation deteriorated until in 1935 the American Association of Universities (AAU) dropped Fordham from its approved list of schools, where it had been since 1913.²⁵¹ The province had proved incredibly successful at marshaling resources to expand Fordham's enrollment, but had little experience with what to do once that was accomplished. It would take more than a decade of hard work to repair the reputation of Fordham's academics.²⁵²

Another clear indication of provincial priorities was the staffing decisions made at the colleges. At the end of the nineteenth century, the number of Jesuits stationed at Georgetown and

²⁴⁹ "Students in Our Colleges in the United States and Canada, Oct. 1, 1905," *The Woodstock Letters* 34 (1905);

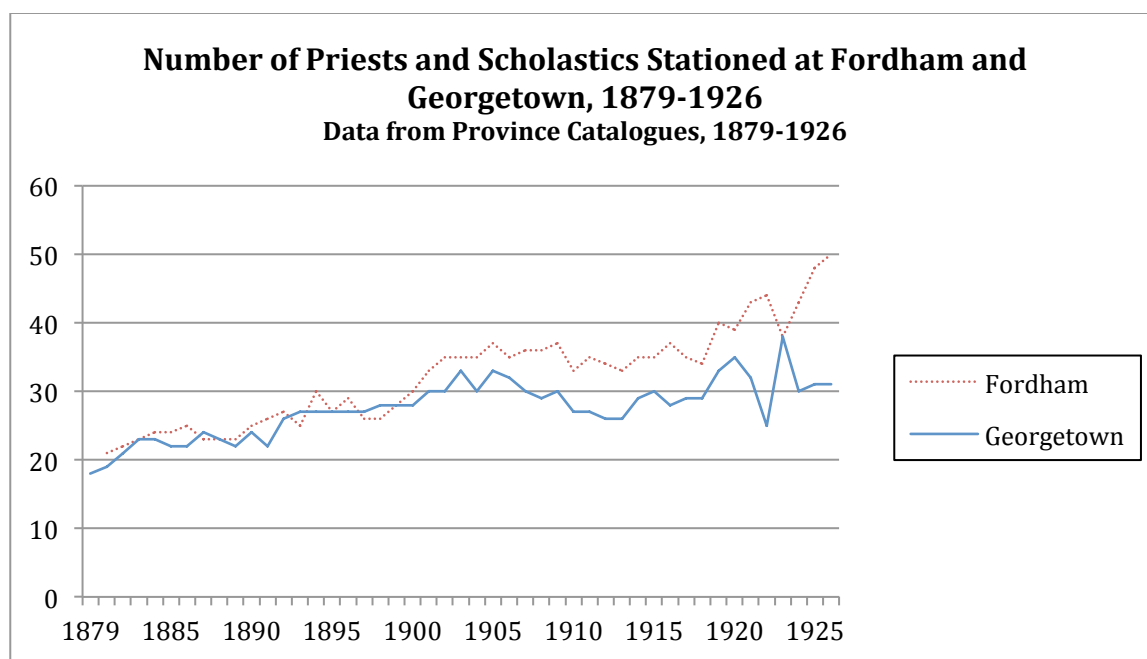
"Students in Our High Schools and Colleges in the United States and Canada," *The Woodstock Letters* 54 (1925).

²⁵⁰ "Fordham Medical School Closes," Edward Tivnan, S.J. Papers, Folder 1, Box 1, Fordham University Archives.

²⁵¹ Schroth, *Fordham*, 155.

²⁵² The current place of Georgetown as the top-ranked Jesuit college in the U.S. is a product of developments later in the century, but Fordham's struggles in the 1930s helped lay the groundwork for Georgetown's ascendancy.

Fordham was equal: a total of twenty-eight priests and scholastics at each school.²⁵³ Beginning in 1900, however, the community at Fordham started to grow more quickly than the one at Georgetown. By 1910, Fordham had six more Jesuits than Georgetown. The difference fluctuated over the next decade, but Fordham consistently had five to eight more Jesuits through the early 1920s. Following the separation of the preparatory division at Georgetown in 1924, the difference became even further pronounced until by 1926 Fordham's community surpassed Georgetown's by almost twenty members. While the difference in numbers might not seem significant, in 1926 those twenty Jesuits represented almost 8% of the total province membership employed in collegiate-level work. Student enrollment can account for some of the difference in community size, but not all of it. Boston College, which had slightly more collegiate students than Fordham, had a significantly smaller community.²⁵⁴ None of these metrics tell the entire story, but taken together, they suggest a deliberate effort on the part of the province to focus resources at Fordham rather than Georgetown.



²⁵³ *Province Catalogue for the Maryland-New York Province*, 1899, GUA.

²⁵⁴ "Students in Our Colleges in the United States and Canada, October 10, 1922," *The Woodstock Letters* 51 (1922); *Province Catalogue for the Maryland-New York Province*, 1922, GUA.

While the province's focus decidedly rested on Fordham, development at Georgetown did not come to a halt. The law and medical schools continued their steady, moderate growth throughout the first quarter of the century; the medical school acquired a dental division in 1901.²⁵⁵ Although the graduate school had fallen apart, the undergraduate college continued its slow expansion as well. But the area of greatest development at Georgetown came in 1919 with the establishment of the School of Foreign Service. Intended to train leaders in international business, as well as members of the Diplomatic and Consular Services, the new school built upon the work Georgetown had done training army officers in the recent World War. The head of the new school, Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. (1885-1956), quickly set about raising money and assembling a faculty. Within six months he had raised over \$500,000, which was four times the endowment of the entire university at the time, and hired a twenty-six-man faculty.²⁵⁶ The new school allowed Georgetown to leverage its location to engage the diplomatic community in a way no other Jesuit school was set up to do.

Since the new school received all of its funding from corporate donations and did not require additional Jesuit faculty, it did not receive any active opposition from the provincial superiors. However, it was as close as anything could come to a personal project of Walsh and received little institutional support outside of Georgetown itself. Instead, Fordham remained the focus of the province's university building efforts through 1926. The provincial leadership consistently invested resources in Fordham in order to make the idea of a single, multi-faculty Jesuit university a reality there. The rapid proliferation of graduate and professional schools, the

²⁵⁵ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 67-8.

²⁵⁶ Curran, *A History of Georgetown: 1889-1964*, 88-93.

growth in the student body, and the concentration of Jesuits there stand as evidence to the success of that investment.

4. Provincial Priorities

The interdependence of the Jesuit's educational system manifested itself in numerous ways between 1879 and 1926. These ranged from Richards' desperate need for a plumber in the fall of 1896 to provincial decisions that drastically increased the number of professional schools at Fordham. The two examples we have examined in this chapter speak to the intersection of external and internal factors with the interdependent nature of the provincial system. The tension between Georgetown and CUA is one example of the role external forces could play in setting provincial priorities. Had Richards not been answerable to a provincial leadership structure, it is likely that Georgetown's graduate program would have developed quite differently than it did. In this way, interdependence worked to constrain the development of a particular school.

The tension between Fordham and Georgetown demonstrates the way the internal forces could combine with external ones to influence the allocation of resources within the province, in this case to the advantage of one school and the detriment of another. The provincial leadership's choice of Fordham as the location of *the* Jesuit university in the province stemmed from a particular set of external circumstances, but also played into an evolving set of internal needs and preferences. In responding to those circumstances, the leadership developed a plan that leveraged the strengths of Fordham, as well as the province as a whole, to create the university they desired. While the success was not as complete or as long-lasting as they might have hoped, the speed with which Fordham developed stands as a testament to the ability of the province to set the direction of its schools.

Chapter 6: Contending with Post-Modernity

“We all recognize the opportuneness and importance of this direction. The difficulty is how best to carry it out.”

- Joseph Hanselman, S.J.

Provincial, Maryland-New York Province, 1906-12²⁵⁷

At the end of 1925, the last year before the New England Province officially separated from Maryland-New York, there were fifteen colleges answering to Laurence Kelly, S.J. (prov. 1922-28), the provincial. These colleges consumed the energy of almost 400 Jesuits, in addition to scores of lay faculty members, to educate over 15,000 students.²⁵⁸ Kelly strove to ensure that the colleges met the standards of the twelve different municipalities they resided in, as well as the federal government, regional accreditation agencies, and the Jesuit Curia in Rome. One can imagine he might have, at moments, wished for the meager nine schools William Pardow, S.J. had had to deal with.

Kelly inherited a system that was the product of four decades of, sometimes tortuous, development. Much remained the same as it had in 1879, but much was radically different. In the area of curricular unity, the province had made steady progress over the years towards a consistent curriculum across all of its colleges. This move was the result of both external and internal pressure on the province. It culminated in the monumental decision, under Kelly's leadership in 1923, to accept the modern American model in the province's colleges. Kelly oversaw the introduction of a system of majors and allowed a greater amount of election in students' individual study. The province adopted the *unit* and the *credit hour*, both innovations that it had strenuously resisted only a few years prior. And, most tellingly, Greek would no

²⁵⁷ Joseph Hanselman to Maryland-New York Jesuits, 1 January 1908, Maryland Province Archives, Box 97, Folder 7, Georgetown University Archives.

²⁵⁸ Data from *The Woodstock Letters* 56 (1925).

longer be required for the A.B. degree. With these modifications, every college in the province was finally offering the same curriculum.

Organizationally, Kelly continued to wrestle with the interdependence of the colleges under his control. Faculty rotation continued as it had throughout our period and men moved around according to the “needs of the province.” And of course, presidents complained, as they were wont to do, of this or that college being favored over their own. The province continued to develop Fordham into its major university, although the crisis there shortly after Kelly stepped down would soon change that. In addition to the continuing functional interdependence, conceptual interdependence remained a strong force within the province. In short, the highly interdependent system laid out in the previous chapters continued to function much as it had for the next few decades.

If Kelly and his fellow Jesuits faced the challenge of, as Philip Gleason terms it, “contending with modernity,” the Jesuit colleges and universities of today are contending with post-modernity.²⁵⁹ The huge expansion of the size and scope of higher education after World War II, the changes to the Catholic Church following the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, and the decreasing role of religion in American public life have posed new challenges for the Jesuit educational enterprise.

The change with the most direct impact on the systematic nature of that enterprise was the decision made in the 1960s to separately incorporate the individual colleges and universities. Prior to “separate incorporation,” the Jesuit community and the college were legally one and the same. This relationship, dating back to the first Jesuit schools, placed the rector of the community in charge of the entire operation. As we have seen, this meant being both a religious

²⁵⁹ Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995).

superior and an educational administrator. Over the course of the 1960s, the Jesuit colleges separated from their respective communities and were turned over to a more standard management structure under a board of trustees. While the presidents remained Jesuits, they now had to be selected by the board rather than being appointed by the Society. This move lessened the control the Society had over its colleges, but opened them up to be more responsive to the needs of the moment. Separate incorporation also destroyed the unified system that the Maryland-New York Province had worked so hard to sustain at the turn of the twentieth century. Now relationships between the Jesuit colleges and universities are governed by the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU) and not by provincial superiors.

The post-modern period has also seen a second transition in educational and pedagogical values. The transition from a curriculum defined by the *Ratio Studiorum* to one more closely aligned with contemporary American trends had begun in the early 1900s, but Kelly oversaw the final moments of it in 1923. By the time he stepped down, the *Ratio Studiorum* was no longer the guiding document of Jesuit education it once was. While the *Ratio Studiorum* found itself shelved by the late 1920s, its spirit did not disappear from the Jesuit colleges. It lived on in the curriculum in a number of ways throughout the twentieth century. The most visible expression of it was in the development of strong philosophy and theology departments at Jesuit universities. Both of those subjects actually took on an increased importance as the century wore on, with philosophy and theology requirements present in the general education requirement for undergraduates at Jesuit colleges and universities up to the present day. The importance of the humanistic tradition more generally, now referred to as the liberal arts, continues to pervade Jesuit campuses. Many of them market themselves as liberal arts universities, bridging the divide between the college and university ideal that proved so problematic for their predecessors.

Indeed, truly bridging this divide appears to be the next great challenge for Jesuit higher education. If the early-twentieth century saw the victory of the university model nationally, the remainder of century saw the Jesuits fighting a valiant retreat within their own institutions. The traditions of collegiate education remained strong enough in their schools that one can sense the tension with the university ideal even today. Aside from the theology and philosophy requirements, many Jesuit universities stress undergraduate engagement and research more highly than their secular peers. This stress represents a distinct artifact of collegiate values within the modern university.

In recent years, *values* have been one of the major areas where Jesuit education has been reclaiming ground. Phrases like “Women and Men for Others” and “Be the Magis” can be found adorning banners on Jesuit campus across the country. This shift towards values stands in marked contrast to the movement of the Jesuit colleges between 1879 and 1926. That period can in one way be described as a retreat from Jesuit values as the province wrestled with what a modern Jesuit education required. By the 1920s, it had abandoned subordination, coordination, and advancement by mastery as fundamental characteristics. These had long been considered inseparable from a Jesuit education, but they conflicted with the developing American model of higher education. In the battle between wider acceptance by the academic community and increasing student enrollment and maintaining some fundamental aspects of their education program, the Maryland-New York Jesuits (after much soul searching) ultimately aimed for the former.

Kathleen Mahoney argues, however, that this partial retreat actually allowed the Jesuit colleges to maintain their religious identity through the twentieth century. Those Protestant schools which led the university movement, and which the Jesuit colleges ultimately strove to

emulate, have since lost any semblance of religious identity. Contemporary Jesuit colleges and universities, in contrast, have maintained a sense of religious mission that animates much of the work they do. This mission has changed dramatically since the end of our period, but it is part of a continuum from Richards, Pardow, and Kelly through to the presidents of today's institutions. A number of these institutions, with Georgetown leading the way, have begun to think of ways to leverage this sense of mission in the twenty-first century. As career paths become less linear and post-graduate life more complex, the well-rounded ideal of the late nineteenth century Society has returned to the fore. The same objections those earlier Jesuits had to "career training" are finding themselves retooled as selling points for a modern, interdisciplinary, liberal arts education.

The organizational challenge for leaders of Jesuit colleges and universities in this century is in many ways the challenge the Maryland-New York Jesuits faced at the turn of the last one: what does it mean for the schools to constitute a system? Today's schools are no longer tied by the hierarchy of the Society and operate in a much less interdependent fashion than they did a hundred years ago. The AJCU operates primarily as a lobbying body, with little of the coordinating power compared to the old provincial system. Nevertheless, the twenty-eight colleges and universities it represents still constitute the third largest educational system in the United States in terms of student enrollment. Geographically they cover the entire country and many have strong connections with other Jesuit schools internationally. These resources present enormous potential for an increasingly networked age. The question is: can the leaders of today figure out ways to leverage that potential and create a truly cohesive, modern system of Jesuit higher education? One can only wonder what J. Havens Richards, S.J., would have done with those resources.

A Note on Sources

The sources for this thesis fall into three general categories: official records of the Society of Jesus, specifically the Maryland-New York Province, official records of the individual Jesuit colleges and universities, and private documents from the Jesuits working in those institutions. All of these documents, in so much as they exist and are available to the public, are housed in the Special Collections divisions of Jesuit colleges' libraries. The specific schools, and thus libraries, in question are Georgetown University, Fordham University, and the College of the Holy Cross. For the parts of the work relating to The Catholic University of America, I drew on the archival sources available there.

The home base for anyone researching the Maryland-New York Province Jesuits must be the archives at Georgetown University. The library there houses the province's archives, known as the Maryland Province Archives, which is particularly rich in nineteenth and early twentieth century material. This collection contains financial records, correspondence from the Father General to the provincial and college presidents, official college publications, meeting minutes, and a treasure trove of other documents. To go through it all adequately would take far more time than the meager months I had. The archives at Georgetown also contain a collection called "Other Colleges and Universities," which contains correspondence, publications, and newspaper clippings related to particular institutions. This collection is particularly helpful in teasing out the relationship between Georgetown and the other colleges in the province, but you are at the mercy of whatever archivist was compiling resources at the time you are interested in. Some periods or schools are particularly well documented, others receive barely a mention.

Georgetown also houses copies of two types of publications that were invaluable in my research. The most useful were the *College Catalogues*, which provide detailed information

about students, faculty, the curriculum, and the college's general condition. They also served to advertise the college to prospective students and donors, so they must be used judiciously. I have had to rely on them for curricular information especially, which is problematic because they are fundamentally proscriptive rather than descriptive documents. However, given the lack of other sources, they have served to give a sense of the curriculum at Georgetown in any given year. Especially when used in comparison from the catalogues from other schools, they have provided valuable insight into questions of curricular unity. They have also proved incredibly useful sources of statistical data, such as faculty and student demographics, both of which are worth exploring further.

The other incredibly useful publication housed at Georgetown are the *Catalogues* of the Maryland-New York Province. Published annually, the *Catalogues* provide information on where every Jesuit belonging to the Province is stationed and what they are doing there. It also indicates when Jesuits from other provinces are stationed in the Maryland-New York Province, allowing me to get a complete list of the Jesuit faculty at each one of the institutions I was interested in. This allowed me to compare the relative size of the faculty at different colleges and to gather biographical data about individual Jesuits as needed. The archives at both Fordham and Holy Cross, while less extensive than those at Georgetown, provided me with similar information. Both schools published their own catalogues, which provided the same valuable demographic and curricular information as the ones at Georgetown.

In addition, all three schools hold some of the papers belonging to the men who were presidents during my period. Of the holdings at Georgetown, the most useful proved to be those of J. Havens Richards (1888-98). This collection includes a larger amount of Richards' correspondence, both sent and received, as well as some of his internal memos from

Georgetown. The collection is not well catalogued and requires a lot of digging through, but is worth the time. Unfortunately, few records from any other Georgetown president from this period survived. At Holy Cross, I encountered a similar issue. The archives there contained a file for almost every president during my period, but in most cases they were little more than biographical sketches. The most useful collection of papers at Holy Cross, letters from Jesuit superiors in Rome to the provincial, was in fact copied from records held at Georgetown. At Fordham, a number of fires early in the twentieth century severely limited the amount of surviving documentation. However, the Edward Tivnan, S.J. (1919-24) papers proved to be exceedingly useful.

To supplement these archival sources, I have relied heavily on *The Woodstock Letters*. Effectively the internal journal for North American Jesuits, the *Letters* were published at Woodstock College from 1872 through the 1960s. The journal contains accounts of the founding and current status of various colleges, as well as annual student enrollment at each college. It also acted as a forum for debates on educational practice. The full collection is available in Georgetown Special Collections, but is also fully available online from St. Louis University.

The greatest strength of these sources is their detail and comprehensiveness. Since they contain records of the colleges maintained by the colleges themselves, any relevant document that has survived should be contained within them. That is not to say that there is necessarily a vast amount of documentation, only that there are no barriers to the college acquiring what is available. Moreover, the nascent nature of collegiate bureaucracy at this time means that the personal papers of the presidents that did survive contain a wider range of administrative detail than we would expect to see today. Additionally, the Jesuits are the inheritors of a long tradition of letter writing, which produced a substantial amount of correspondence.

The only major gap in my source base are those records kept at the Society of Jesus Archives in Rome. The collections there contain more of the correspondence with the Superior General, who took an active role in running the Jesuit colleges during this period. Moreover, many administrative records made their way there over the course of the last century. While it would be advantageous to have access to the collections there, the gap was not crippling to my project. The collection of letters from the superiors in Rome that is located at Holy Cross, as well as the correspondence present in the presidential papers, provides a fairly full picture.

One of the major issues to be aware of when using the Jesuit-produced sources, which constituted the majority of the sources available to me, is one of group bias. Most of the documents used in this study question were produced by Jesuits and meant to be read by other Jesuits. This means that they needed to be read as insider documents. Nevertheless, the question of how Jesuits perceived themselves and their institutions is a crucial component of the relationship between the colleges. The fact that individual institutions managed to maintain unique identities complicates their position as “pro-Jesuit” documents, however. It is not so much a question of a source being pro- or anti-Jesuit, rather, the complexity comes from the often-competing demands of individual colleges and the province as a whole, which adds a layer of complexity to individual documents.

Another factor to be aware of, especially in the correspondence, is the influence of style and convention on the text. The social conventions of nineteenth-century letter writing call for different types of address than today, which means phrases that we might consider pleasantries may have carried actual rhetorical weight. The reverse is also true and so teasing out attitudes towards particular people and events can be difficult. Convention also influences the style of

institutional writing during this period. The tendency to inflate and self-aggrandize one's institution means that conclusions, and sometimes facts, need to be taken with some skepticism.

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